ORIENTAL MEMOIRS.

VOLUME III.

" Often as I read in the books of histories and cosmography the marvellous things whereof they make " mention, especially in the East parts of the world, there was nothing that could pacify my unquiet mind, " until I had with mine eyes seen the truth thereof, and in my own person beheld the situation of lands " and regions, with the manners and customs of men; and variable forms, shapes, natures, and proprieties of " beasts, fruits, and trees; especially such as are among the Arabians, Persians, and Indians. And whereas, " in the searching of these things, we have, thanked be God, satisfied our desire, we think nevertheless that " we have done little, except we should communicate to other such things as we have seen and had ex- " perience of; that they likewise, by the reading thereof, may take pleasure; for whose sakes we have " written this long and dangerous discourse of things which we have seen in divers regions and sects of men; " desiring nothing more than that the truth may be known to them that desire the same. But what in " commodities and troubles chanced to me in these voyages, as hunger, thirst, cold, heat, wars, captivity, " terrors, and divers other such dangers, I will declare in their due place."

Travels of VERTOMANNUS *in* 1503.

* * * * *

" The eastern front was glorious to behold,
" With diamond flaring, and Barbaric gold.
" There Ninus shone, who spread th' Assyrian fame,
" And the great founder of the Persian name:
" There, in long robes, the royal magi stand;
" Grave Zoroaster waves the circling wand;
" The sage Chaldæans rob'd in white appear'd,
" And Brachmans, deep in desert woods rever'd.
" These stopp'd the moon, and call'd th' unbodied shades
" To midnight banquets in the glimmering glades;
" Made visionary fabrics round them rise,
" And airy spectres skim before their eyes;
" Of Talismans and Sigils knew the power,
" And careful watch'd the planetary hour;
" Superior, and alone, CONFUCIUS stood,
" Who taught that useful science, to be good."

POPE.

ORIENTAL MEMOIRS:

SELECTED AND ABRIDGED FROM

A SERIES OF FAMILIAR LETTERS

WRITTEN DURING

SEVENTEEN YEARS RESIDENCE IN INDIA:

INCLUDING

OBSERVATIONS

ON

PARTS OF AFRICA AND SOUTH AMERICA,

AND

A NARRATIVE OF OCCURRENCES IN FOUR INDIA VOYAGES.

Illustrated by Engravings from Original Drawings.

BY JAMES FORBES, F.R.S. &c.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

VOL. III.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR THE AUTHOR BY T. BENSLEY, BOLT COURT.

PUBLISHED BY WHITE, COCHRANE, AND CO. HORACE'S HEAD,

FLEET-STREET.

1813.

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1781.

" From whence the progress of the Sage's mind,
Beyond the bounds by Nature's laws assign'd?
Whence, every form of vulgar sense o'erthrown,
Soars the rapt thought, and rests on God alone?
Perhaps, by smooth gradations, to this end
All systems of belief unconscious tend,
That teach the infinite of nature swarms
With gods subordinate through endless forms,
And every object, useful, bright, malign,
Of some peculiar is the care, or shrine.
Ask the poor Hindoo if material things
Exist: he answers, their existence springs
From Mind within, that prompts, protects, provides,
And moulds their beauties, or their terrrors guides.
Blooms the red flow'ret? Durva blushes there.
Flash lightnings fierce? dread Indra fills the air.
The morning wakes, or high the white wave swells,
That Surya brightens, Ganga this impells.
Thus in each part of this material scene,
He owns that matter leans on Mind unseen;
And in each object views some God pourtray'd,
This all in all, and that but empty shade!" C. Grant.

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taken by George the First and Archbishop Wake for the conversion of the Hindoos; letter from the prelate to the missionaries—cause and effects of irreligion—a sovereign remedy—beautiful extract from the writings of bishop Horne—conclusion of the solemn subject.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Adjoining the Zinore purgunna, and equally under my jurisdiction, was a little district called *Chandode*, to which the brahmins attributed peculiar sanctity; the town, situated on the lofty banks of the Nerbudda, was intersected by ravines and water-courses, formed by heavy rains and encroachments of the river: as these inundations subsided, they left deep hollow-ways, and steep precipices overhung by trees entangled with under-wood and jungle-grass, affording an impenetrable cover for tigers, hyenas, serpents, and noxious reptiles.

Immense groves of the ficus religiosa and indica, overshadowing numerous Hindoo temples, and spacious lakes, cast a more than common gloom on this venerated spot.

" What solemn twilight, what stupendous shades
" Enwrap those sacred floods! Through every nerve
" Unusual horror thrills; a pleasing fear
" Glides o'er my frame. The forest deepens round;
" And more gigantic still, the impending trees
" Stretch their extravagant arms athwart the gloom.
" Are these the confines of some fairy world,
" A land of Genii?" Armstrong.

No place in the western provinces of Hindostan is reputed so holy as Chandode; none at least exceed it: its temples and seminaries almost vie with the fanes of Jaggernaut, and colleges of Benares. Two thirds of the inhabitants are brahmins and devotees of various decriptions: Hindoos of every caste from all parts of Guzerat, and pilgrims from a greater distance, resort thither, at stated festivals, to bathe in the Nerbudda, and perform their religious ceremonies on its sacred banks; every temple has its respective images, every burr-tree its holy lingam, or tutelary deity. There the brahmins seem to be almost idolized, and inflated with the appellation given them in the code of Menu, of " something transcendently divine." Such they may be thought by their deluded disciples; to other observers their earthly origin is sufficiently conspicuous. My duty led me thither on occasional visits to collect the Company's share of the revenue in their holy districts. I lived near four years within a few miles of the solemn groves where those voluptuous devotees pass their lives with the ramjannees, or dancing-girls attached to the temples, in a sort of luxurious superstition and sanctified indolence unknown in colder climates.

The dewals, or temples, at Chandode daily undergo a variety of lustral ceremonies: not only do the priests and worshippers of the various deities in the Hindoo mythology, perform these frequent ablutions, but the lingam, the images, and the altars are washed and bathed with water, oil, and milk. We read in the Ayeen Akbery, " that the brahmins wash the images of Jaggernaut six times every day, and dress them each time in fresh clothes. As soon as they are dressed fifty-six brahmins attend them, and

present them with various kinds of food. The quantity of victuals offered to these idols is so very great as to feed twenty thousand persons. They also, at certain times, carry the image in procession upon a carriage of sixteen wheels; and they believe that whoever assists in drawing it along obtains remission of all his sins."

Such was the account of Abul Fazel, the Mahomedan vizier of Akber, two hundred years ago. He has there omitted one material circumstance in the procession of Jaggernaut; that of the voluntary human sacrifices to this lascivious god! This can now be too well supplied from a late publication by Dr. Claudius Buchanan, who was an eye-witness of the horrid scene he describes; which I shall curtail as much as possible.

Jaggernaut, 14*th June* 1806.

"I HAVE seen Jaggernaut. No record of ancient or modern history can give, I think, an adequate idea of this valley of death; it may be truly compared with the valley of Hinnom. The idol called Jaggernaut, has been considered as the Moloch of the present age; and he is justly so named, for the sacrifices offered up to him by self-devotement are not less criminal, perhaps not less numerous, than those recorded of the Moloch of Canaan. Two other idols accompany Jaggernaut, namely Boloram and Shubudra, his brother and sister; for there are *three* deities worshipped here. They receive equal adoration, and sit on thrones of nearly equal height.

"The temple is a stupendous fabric, truly commensurate with the extensive sway of the horrid king. As other temples are

usually adorned with figures emblematical of their religion, so Jaggernaut has numerous and various representations of that vice which constitutes the essence of his worship. The walls and gates are covered with indecent emblems, in massive and durable sculpture. I have also visited the sand plains by the sea, in some places whitened by the bones of the pilgrims; where dogs and vultures are ever seen, who sometimes begin their attack before the pilgrim is quite dead. In this place of skulls I beheld a poor woman lying dead, or nearly dead, and her two children by her, looking at the dogs and vultures which were near. The people passed by without noticing the children: I asked them where was their home; they said " they had no home but where their mother was." O, there is no pity at Jaggernaut; no mercy, no tenderness of heart in Moloch's kingdom! Those who support *his* kingdom err, I trust, from ignorance: " they know not what they do."

Jaggernaut, 18th June.

" I HAVE returned home from witnessing a scene which I shall never forget. At twelve o'clock of this day, being the great day of the feast, the Moloch of Hindostan was brought out of his temple amid the acclamations of hundreds of thousands of his worshippers. When the idol was placed on his throne, a shout was raised by the multitude, such as I had never heard before. It continued equable for a few minutes, and then gradually died away. After a short interval of silence, a murmur was heard at a distance; all eyes were turned to the place, and behold a grove advancing: a body of men, having green branches, or palms in their hands, approached with great celerity. The people opened

a way for them; and when they had come up to the throne, they fell down before him that sat thereon and worshipped. And the multitude again sent forth a voice, "like the sound of a great thunder." But the voices I now heard were not those of melody, or of joyful acclamation. Their number indeed brought to my mind the countless multitude of the Revelations; but their voices gave no tuneful Hosanna or Halleluia: it was rather a yell of approbation!

"The throne of the idol was placed on a stupendous car, about sixty feet in height, resting on wheels which indented the ground deeply as they turned slowly under the ponderous machine. Attached to it were six cables, of the size and length of a ship's cable, by which the people drew it along. Upon the tower were the priests and satellites of the idol, surrounding his throne. The idol is a block of wood, having a frightful visage painted black, with a distended mouth of a bloody colour; his arms are of gold, and he is dressed in gorgeous apparel. The other two idols are of a white and yellow colour. Five elephants preceded the three towers, bearing lofty flags, dressed in crimson caparisons, and having bells hanging thereto, which sounded musically as they moved.

"I went on in the procession, close by the tower of Moloch; which, as it was drawn with difficulty, grated on its many wheels harsh as thunder: after a few minutes it stopped; and now the worship of the god began. A high priest mounted the car in front of the idol, and pronounced his obscene stanzas in the ears of the people; who responded, at intervals, in the same strain. "These songs," said he, "are the delight of the god; his car can only move when he is pleased with the song." The car moved on a little way, and

then stopped; a boy of about twelve years old was now brought forth, to attempt something yet more lascivious, if peradventure the god would move. The child perfected the praise of his idol with such ardent expression and gesture, that the god was pleased, and the multitude emitting a sensual yell of delight, urged the car along. After a few minutes it stopped again. An aged minister of the idol then stood up, and with a long rod in his hand, which he moved with indecent action, completed the variety of this disgusting exhibition.

"After the tower had proceeded some way, a pilgrim announced that he was ready to offer himself a sacrifice to the idol. He laid himself down in the road before the tower as it was moving along, lying on his face with his arms stretched forward. The multitude passed round him, leaving the space clear; and he was crushed to death by the wheels of the tower. A shout of joy was raised to the god; he is said to smile when the libation of blood is made. The people threw cowries, or small money, on the body of the victim, in approbation of the deed. He was left to view a considerable time, and was then carried by the *hurries* to the Golgotha, where I have just been viewing his remains."

Jaggernaut, 20th June.

"The horrid solemnities still continue; yesterday a woman devoted herself to the idol. She laid herself down on the road in an oblique direction, so that the wheels did not kill her instantaneously, as is generally the case; but she died in a few hours. This morning as I passed the 'place of skulls' nothing remained of her but her bones.

" And this, thought I, is the worship of the brahmins of Hindostan! and their worship in its sublimest degree! What then shall we think of their private manners, and their moral principles! For it is equally true of India as of Europe; if you would know the state of the people, look at the state of the temple.

" The idolatrous processions continue for some days longer; but my spirits are so exhausted by the constant view of these enormities, that I mean to hasten away from Jaggernaut sooner than I first intended. As to the number of worshippers assembled here at this time, no accurate calculation can be made: the natives themselves, when speaking of the number at particular festivals, usually say that a lac of people, (one hundred thousand) would not be missed. I asked a brahmin how many he supposed were present at the most numerous festival he had ever witnessed: " How can I tell," said he, " how many grains there are in a handful of sand ?"

These horrid superstitious rites are not practised in Guzerat; nor are sanguinary sacrifices of any kind offered on the Hindoo altars. Self-immolation by widows too often pollute the flowery banks of the Nerbudda, and female infanticide, to a great extent, was then encouraged among whole tribes in the province. These are now happily prevented by the interference of the British government. Under the groves of Chandode are many funeral monuments in memory of those pilgrims who died on their journey to these sacred shrines, and whose ashes were brought to this sanctified spot, and cast into the river: because it forms an essential part of the Hindoo system that each element shall have a portion of the human body at its dissolution.

When there is no hope of recovery, the patient is generally removed from the bed, and laid on a platform of fresh earth, either out of doors or prepared purposely in some adjoining room or veranda, that he may there breathe his last. In a physical sense, this removal at so critical a period must be often attended with fatal consequences; though perhaps not quite so decisive as that of exposing an aged parent or a dying friend on the banks of the Ganges. I now only mention the circumstances as forming part of the Hindoo religious system. After having expired upon the earth, the body is carried to the water-side, and washed with many ceremonies. It is then laid upon the funeral pile, that the fire may have a share of the victim: the ashes are finally scattered in the air, and fall upon the water.

During the funeral ceremony, which is solemn and affecting, the brahmins address the respective elements in words to the following purport: although there may be a different mode of performing these religious rites in other parts of Hindostan.

O Earth! to thee we commend our brother; of thee he was formed; by thee he was sustained; and unto thee he now returns!

O Fire! thou hadst a claim in our brother; during his life he subsisted by thy influence in nature; to thee we commit his body: thou emblem of purity, may his spirit be purified on entering a new state of existence!

O Air! while the breath of life continued, our brother respired by thee: his last breath is now departed; to thee we yield him!

O Water! thou didst contribute to the life of our brother; thou wert one of his sustaining elements. His remains are now

dispersed: receive thy share of him, who has now taken an everlasting flight!

Eastern and western philosophers seem to coincide in sentiment respecting this disposition of the human frame at its dissolution: at least the author of the Night Thoughts has thus beautifully expressed himself on a similar subject.

> " The moist of human frame the sun exhales;
> " Winds scatter, through the mighty void, the dry;
> " Earth repossesses part of what she gave;
> " And the freed spirit mounts on wings of fire:
> " Each element partakes our scattered spoils;
> " As nature, wide, our ruins spread!—Man's death
> " Inhabits all things, but the thought of Man! YOUNG.

In the brahminical benediction at the commencement of Sacontala, the Hindoo system of philosophy is still more enlarged, and contains a beautiful part of their mythology. "Water was the first work of the Creator, and fire receives the oblations ordained by law; the sacrifice is performed with solemnity: the two lights of heaven distinguish time; the subtle ether, which is the vehicle of sound, pervades the universe; the earth is the natural parent of all increase; and by air all things breathing are animated: may ISA, the god of nature, apparent in these eight forms, bless and sustain you!"

I have occasionally mentioned the most striking features in the moral and religious character of the Hindoos. It would be endless to enter into the various shades of caste and different ceremonials observed among them; nor are they of importance to an English reader. One doctrine which I have not particularly ad-

verted to, has the greatest possible influence among all the castes, and keeps them in that extraordinary state of distinction and subordination which forms their peculiar characteristic; it is that the four grand divisions, or castes, proceeded from Brahma, the creating power, in the following manner: The *brahmin* issued from the mouth, implying WISDOM; to pray, to read, and to instruct. The *chetteree* proceeded from the arms, implying STRENGTH; to draw the bow, to fight, and to govern. The *bice* came from the belly or thighs, which implies NOURISHMENT; these must provide the necessaries of life by agriculture and commerce. The *sooder* came from the feet, which means SUBJECTION; these are born to labour, and to serve. From these four grand divisions all the subordinate castes are derived.

I had constant opportunities of seeing the religious ceremonies at the Hindoo temples in Dhuboy and Chandode. The brahminical worship is generally divided into the *Narganey Pooja*, and *Sarganey Pooja;* or the worship of the great invisible God, and the worship of idols. The latter always appeared to me to be the objects of devotion both of the priests and people. Exclusive of the temple for public worship, in most of the Guzerat villages is a sacred burr, or pipal-tree; under which is the figure of a cow, the lingam, one or two of the deities, or a vase containing a plant of the tulsee, or sweet basil, growing on the top of the altar. Sometimes the object of worship is only a plain stone, or a block of black or white marble, on which flowery sacrifices are daily offered by the villagers, either with or without the presence of a brahmin. Sometimes they are joined in their religious rites by a Yogee, who lives under the tree on the skin of a tiger or leopard, which they

are very fond of: if that is beyond their reach, they content themselves with a mat, and frequently a terrace of cow-dung, where the worshipper remains motionless for many hours together, in a stupid kind of absorption. With the other sacrifices the Hindoos often mingle a small quantity of oil of sandal, mogrees, and odoriferous plants; more common unguents are rubbed on the stone. The custom of anointing stones with oil, and converting them into altars, is very ancient. When Jacob had been favoured with the heavenly vision on his journey to Mesopotamia, he took the stone on which he had slept, and set it up for a pillar, and poured oil upon it; as is practised at this day on many a shapeless stone throughout Hindostan.

Although the object of their worship is erroneous, and painful to the feelings of more enlightened minds, it is pleasing to see the Hindoos every morning perform their ablutions in the sacred lakes, and offer an innocent sacrifice under the solemn grove. After having gone through their religious ceremonies, they are sealed by the officiating brahmin with the tiluk, or mark, either of Vishnoo or Seeva; the followers of those respective deities forming the two great sects among the Hindoos. The mark is impressed on the forehead with a composition of sandal-wood dust and oil, or the ashes of cow-dung and turmeric: this is a holy ceremony, which has been adopted in all ages by the eastern nations, however differing in religious profession. Among the Hindoos of both sexes, and all descriptions among the castes permitted to attend the temple worship, it is daily practised. To the Jews it was well known, as also to the Mahomedans. Many passages in the Old and New Testament allude to it; and a Jewish rabbi says

" the perfectly just are sealed, and conveyed to Paradise." Christians are said by the apostle to be sealed by the Spirit until the day of redemption; and in the Apocalypse the charge given to the destroying angel is illustrated by this oriental practice. " Hurt not the earth until we have sealed the servants of our God in the forehead; and they shall see his face, and his name shall be on their foreheads."

The principal temple at Chandode is finished in a superior style of taste and elegance to any in that part of India: the central spire is light and in good proportion; the interior of the dome is forty feet diameter; the concave painted by artists from Ahmedabad, on subjects in the Hindoo mythology. They are done in distemper, which is very durable in that climate: but the drawing is bad, and the style altogether hard, incorrect, and deficient in the effect of light and shade: a light and dark shade seem indeed to be all they are acquainted with: the modern artists have no idea of middle tints, or the harmony of colouring. The outline, though greatly inferior in proportion and line of beauty, bears some resemblance to the ancient Greek and Etruscan vases. The temples at Chandode abound with exterior sculpture, inferior to that at the Gate of Diamonds at Dhuboy, and to the figures at Salsette and Elephanta; nor can they be named with the graceful statues of ancient Greece.

During the latter years of my residence in India, I had so little intercourse with my own countrymen, and my lot was so completely cast among the brahmins of Guzerat, that I naturally became interested in all their concerns as far as circumstances admitted. At that time very few publications had appeared in Europe re-

specting the Hindoos; nor were the English then settled in India likely, from their pursuits, to obtain much knowledge of their religion, morality, and manners. In the circumscribed island of Bombay, where society was confined to the European circles, little information of that kind was to be expected; the same cause operated at the principal subordinate settlements: but at Dhuboy I was in a peculiar situation of seclusion and solitude; and, willing to profit by the opportunity, I endeavoured to acquire all the particulars I could respecting these extraordinary people. The observations I made enable me to confirm what I have since met with in the writings of Sir William Jones, and other celebrated orientalists. But the code of laws translated from the Sanscreet of Menu, affords the best and most authentic system of Hindoo policy and manners. Although their chronology and history extend far beyond our computation of time, we must allow this book to be one of the most ancient records any where extant. The preliminary discourse affixed to it, composed by modern pundits and brahmins, is a liberal and manly essay; and although the Hindoo literati of the present day are very inferior to their ancestors in science and wisdom, many of them are taught the language in which those valuable treatises were written, and have the same fountain to apply to for information. In this preliminary discourse several eminent brahmins, with great elevation of mind, and liberality of sentiment, thus address themselves.

"From men of enlightened understandings, and sound judgment, who in their researches after truth, have swept from their hearts the dust of malice and opposition, it is not concealed that the contrarieties of religion, and diversities of belief, which are

causes of envy, and of enmity to the ignorant, are in fact a manifest demonstration of the power of the Supreme Being. For it is evident that a painter, by sketching a multiplicity of figures, and by arranging a variety of colours, procures a reputation among men; and a gardener, for planting a diversity of shrubs, and for producing a number of different flowers, gains credit and commendation; wherefore it is absurdity and ignorance to view, in an inferior light, HIM, who created both the painter and the gardener. The truly intelligent well know that the differences and varieties of created things are a ray of his glorious essence; and that the contrarieties of constitutions are a type of his wonderful attributes, whose complete power formed all creatures of the animal, vegetable, and material world, from the four elements of fire, water, air, and earth, to be an ornament to the magazine of the creation; and whose comprehensive benevolence selected man, the centre of knowledge, to have dominion and authority over the rest: and, having bestowed upon this favourite object judgment and understanding, gave him supremacy over the corners of the world; and, when he had put into his hand the free control and arbitrary disposal of all affairs, he appropriated to each tribe its own faith, and to every sect its own religion; and having introduced a numerous variety of castes, and a multiplicity of different customs, he views in each particular place the mode of worship respectively appointed to it. Sometimes he is employed with the attendants upon the mosque, in counting the sacred beads; sometimes he is in the temple at the adoration of idols; the intimate of the Mussulman, and the friend of the Hindoo; the companion of the Christian, and the confident of the Jew. Wherefore men of exalted

notions, not being bent upon hatred and opposition, but considering the collected body of creatures as an object of the power of the Almighty, by investigating the contrarieties of sects, and the different customs of religion, have stamped to themselves a lasting reputation upon the page of the world; particularly in the extensive empire of Hindostan, which is a most delightful country; and wherein are collected a great number of Turks, Persians, Tartars, Scythians, Europeans, Armenians, Abyssinians, &c."

The beauty and philanthropy of this quotation will, I trust, apologize for its prolixity. During my residence among the brahmins and religious sectaries of the Hindoos, I witnessed so much of their life and conduct as convinced me of the usefulness of many who performed their active duties; and, as far as the laws of caste and their own knowledge permitted, instructed those who were allowed to learn, in their religious and moral duty. I am also convinced, that the most enlightened brahmins believe in the unity of God, although they think it necessary to represent his different attributes under symbolical forms, for the comprehension of the vulgar. They have also permitted the representation of celestial beings for a similar purpose; in the same manner as the stoics and other philosophers, who were unwilling to disturb the popular religion of their country, yet knowing how truth was obscured by fable and allegory, they ventured to establish tenets which enlarged the ideas, and ennobled the minds of their followers; and went as far in their system as human nature can attain, unenlightened by the Sun of Righteousness. Many of their writings clearly indicate the sublimity of their conceptions. Strabo, probably, gives the general opinion of those ancient sages

when he asserts that "the thunder of Jupiter, the ægis of Minerva, the trident of Neptune, the torches and snakes of the Furies, together with the whole heathen theology, are all fable; which the legislators who formed the political constitution of states, employ as bugbears to overawe the credulous and simple."

Among my Hindoo visitors at Dhuboy, I have frequently heard liberal and intelligent men express themselves almost in the very words of Jesswant Sihng, the Hindoo rajah, who wrote the following letter to the emperor Aurungzebe, a prince of a most fanatical and persecuting spirit: it is deservedly preserved by Orme in his valuable history.

"Your royal ancestor, Abker, whose throne is now in heaven, conducted the affairs of this empire in equity and firm security, for the space of fifty years; preserving every tribe of men in ease and happiness, whether they were followers of Jesus or of Moses, of David or of Mahomed; were they brahmins of the sect of Dharians, they all equally enjoyed his countenance and favour: insomuch that his people, in gratitude for the indiscriminate protection which he afforded them, distinguished him by the appellation of Juggut-Grow, guardian of mankind. If your majesty places any faith in those books, by distinction called divine, you will there be instructed that God is the God of all mankind; not the God of Mahomedans alone. The Pagan and the Mussulman are equally in his presence; distinctions of colour are of his ordination: it is HE who gives existence. In your temple, to his name, the voice is raised in prayer; in a house of images, where the bell is shaken, still HE is the object of adoration. To vilify the religion and customs of other men, is to set at naught the pleasure of the Al-

mighty. When we deface a picture, we naturally incur the resentment of the painter; and justly has the poet said, "presume not to arraign, or to scrutinize the various works of power divine."

It is well known the Hindoos admit of no proselytes to their religion: a man must be born a Hindoo, he cannot become one. The preceding letter confirms the liberality of their sentiments towards all other religious systems. It also establishes the fact, that the enlightened brahmins firmly believe in the unity of the Godhead; while at the same time, as just observed, polytheism, on as extended a scale as ever entered into the Grecian mythology, is the creed of the vulgar; all unite in the belief of the metempsychosis, but the ideas of the generality on this subject are vague, unsatisfactory, and uninfluencing. Frequently, when arguing with the brahmins on this favourite tenet, I have stated, even on a supposition of its truth, that it could have little influence on a set of beings who retained no consciousness of a pre-existent state, whether virtuous or vicious: they generally declined the subject, by saying such knowledge was imparted to a few highly-favored brahmins, and twice-born men; but the doctrine of the metempsychosis was to be received by all the various tribes of Hindoos as an article of faith.

The doctrine of the metempsychosis, is not only of very remote antiquity, but was widely spread among the most civilized nations. Pythagoras, who travelled into Egypt, Chaldea, and India, on his return to Greece confirmed those tenets which had been previously introduced there by his master Pherecides. And it appears that not only the doctrine of future rewards and punish-

ments, as set forth in the brahminical code, were publicly taught by Pythagoras, but also many of the other moral and religious tenets of the Hindoos. Craufurd says many of the latter believe that some souls are sent back to the spot where their bodies were burnt, there to wait until the new bodies they are destined to occupy be ready for their reception. This appears to correspond with an opinion of Plato; which, with many other tenets of that philosopher, was adopted by the early christians. The institutes of Menu, enlarging on this subject, assert that the *vital souls* of those men who have committed sins in the body, shall certainly, after death, assume another body, composed of nerves, with five sensations, in order to be the more susceptible of torment; and being intimately united with those minute nervous particles, according to their distribution, they shall feel, in that new body, the pangs inflicted in each by the sentence of Yama.

It was a prevailing idea with the Grecian and Roman philosophers, and, as is often mentioned in these memoirs, it is equally so among the enlightened brahmins, that the spirit of man originally emanates from the Great Soul of Being, the Divine Spirit: and when, by the inevitable stroke of death, it quits its tenement of clay, it is again absorbed into the immensity of the Deity. This, they taught, was to be the final state of the virtuous, while the souls of the wicked were doomed to punishments proportionate to their crimes. Such were the purest doctrines of Pythagoras, Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle; both these and their moral system deserve our admiration, but how far short do they fall from the faith of the ancient patriarchs in the Great Jehovah, long before the law was given to Moses, or grace and truth

came by Jesus Christ? Whether God vouchsafed his revelation immediately from himself, as he sometimes did to Abraham; or by the administration of angels, as to Lot; or in a dream, as by Jacob's symbolical ladder; those highly-favoured men had none of those doubts which perplexed the philosophers of Greece and Rome. They could not, with metaphysical subtilty, argue in the Stoa or dispute in the Lyceum, yet these unlettered shepherds of Mesopotamia went far beyond them: in strong faith Abraham could plant a grove at Beersheba, and call upon the name of the everlasting God! When he sent his servant into Mesopotamia, to take a wife for his son, he could say in simple language, "The Lord God of Heaven, who took me from my father's house and from the land of my kindred, he shall send his angel before thee to direct thee in the way." There was no mystery in the revelation to Isaac when the Lord appeared to him at Beersheba, and said "I am the God of Abraham thy father, fear not, for I am with thee, and will bless thee!" Who can be a stranger to Jacob's sentiments when, after leaving his father's house in poverty and distress, and sleeping on the ground, on his journey to Haran, with only a stone for his pillow, he dreamed that a ladder was set upon the earth, and the top of it reached to heaven; and behold the angels of God ascended and descended on it? When he awoke, he was not left to conjecture, but piously exclaimed, "Surely the Lord is in this place; it is none other but the house of God, and the gate of heaven!" In his extreme old age, after such an eventful life as few experience, he blessed Joseph, and said, "The God before whom my fathers Abraham and Isaac did walk, the God which fed me all my life long until this day, the Angel which redeemed me from all evil, bless thy sons!" When these patriarchs had ful-

filled their generations, and their remains had been long deposited in the cave of Macpelah, the Almighty calls himself the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob; and one greater than Abraham has told us, that God is not a God of the dead, but of the living. What simplicity, what beauty, what sublimity, are in these passages!

What do the doctrines of the ancient philosophers, or the rereveries of modern brahmins, senassees, and yogees, offer in the comparison? These devotees are composed from any of the other sects of the Hindoos, except the caste of Chandala; they leave their family, break every tender connexion of life, and wander over the face of the earth, in the exercise of their religious duties. Their rules are very strict, and some of their voluntary penances of the severest kind; but to what do they tend? In Craufurd's sketches is an extract from the Sanscrit writings, in which it is said, "that a senassee or yogee, who shall devote himself to a "solitary religious life, shall wear no other clothing but what may "be necessary to cover his nakedness; nor have any other worldly "goods but a staff in his hand, and a pitcher to drink out of. "That he shall always meditate on the truths contained in the "sacred writings, but never argue upon them. That his food "shall be confined to rice and vegetables; that he shall eat but "once a day, and then sparingly. That he shall look for-"ward with desire to the separation of the soul from the body; "be indifferent about heat, or cold, or hunger, or praise, or re-"proach, or any thing concerning this life; and that unless he "strictly follow these rules, and subdue his passions, he will only "be more criminal by embracing a state the duties of which he "could not perform, and neglecting those he was born to observe."

Sir William Jones, and other oriental writers on the Hindoo mythology, agree with the narrations of Bernier, Chardin, La Croze, and many celebrated travellers in former days, as to the brahminical faith in the purity and sublimity of One Supreme Being, under the name of Brahma, or the Great One; "that he is the spirit of wisdom, the universal soul that penetrates every thing; that God is as upon a sea without bounds; that those who wish to approach him, must appease the agitation of the waves; that they must be of a tranquil and steady mind; retired within themselves; and their thoughts being collected, must be fixed on God only."

These are as sublime ideas as can enter into the soul of man in his present state of existence; and that some of the brahmins may attain to the enjoyment of such spiritual delight, far be it from me to contradict; but we certainly may assert, that this attainment is confined to a few, when compared with the millions that form the great mass of Hindoos; and so far are the brahmins from wishing the inferior castes to acquire such knowledge, that they keep them as much as possible in a state of ignorance. And in the Code of Menu it is asserted that if one of the Sudra caste reads the Vedas to either of the other three tribes, or listens to them, heated oil, wax, and melted tin, shall be poured into his ears, and the orifice stopped up; and that if a Sudar gets by heart the Vedas, he shall be put to death.

Shall we then, with modern sceptics and philosophists, compare the religion of the Hindoos with that of the gospel? with the blessed Catholicon, which, wafted on wings of celestial love, is spread forth for the healing of the nations, when immersed in

folly, ignorance, and vice? Who can understand the mysteries of Brahma, or enter into the abstracted reveries of his priests? They have answered this question themselves, by saying, that as God is a being without shape, of "whom no precise idea can be "formed, the adoration before idols, being ordained by their "religion, God will receive, and consider that as adoration offered "to himself."

But what saith the God of Israel, the High and Holy One who inhabiteth eternity? "I am the first and I am the last, and besides me there is no God! Thus saith the Lord thy Redeemer, the Holy One of Israel, who created the heavens, and stretched out the earth, he that giveth breath unto the people upon it, and spirit unto them that walk therein; I am the Lord thy God, that is my name; and my glory will I not give to another, nor my praise to graven images!" And to the poorest of his church, as well as to the kings who should be its nursing fathers, and the queens who should be its nursing mothers, he thus speaks by his prophets; "Comfort ye, comfort ye my people, saith your God! speak ye comfortably to Jerusalem, and say unto her, that her warfare is accomplished, that her iniquity is pardoned! O thou that bringest good tidings to Zion, lift up thy voice, and say unto the cities of Judah, Behold your God!" And hear the language of the great propitiatory Sacrifice unto these brahmins, senassees, and devotees of every denomination, who torture themselves for the expiation of sin: "Look unto me, and be saved! for I am God, and none else!"

Such is the prophetical language of the Old Testament: in the fulness of time these predictions were verified, and the birth of the

Messiah was announced by a heavenly choir singing "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good-will towards men!" During his ministry, with whom did this divine teacher associate, to whom did he preach the consolatory truths of his gospel? Not to the rich, the great, and the learned, but to the poor, the humble, and the ignorant. He who spake as never man spake, not confining his blessings nor his invitation to any particular class of people, saith, with a beneficence unparalleled, "Come unto me, ALL ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest!"

I shall not add more upon this interesting subject than becomes a christian, who in peculiar situations has endeavoured to acquire a knowledge of the religious doctrines and moral practice of India. I allow the benevolent Hindoo, the compassionate Mahomedan, and the follower of Zoroaster, their respective virtues; I have also met with mild and amiable characters among the Hottentots of Africa, the Negroes of Caffraria, and the Indians of South America, but nothing in their religion or morality can be compared with the exalted ideas inspired by the gospel! With what sublimity and purity does it clothe the divine attributes! On what a basis does it erect our faith, elevate our hope, and extend our charity! What a system of moral virtue does it inculcate! With what mild persuasion, pathetic simplicity, and dignified authority were these interesting truths delivered! Surely every unprejudiced mind must say with the Roman centurion who witnessed the sufferings of the Messiah, and beheld the convulsions of nature at the termination of that awful scene, "Truly this was the Son of God!"

For near two thousand years has this religion been spreading itself over the world: in due time its saving influence will, I have

no doubt, extend to the nations of the east, and embrace them all in the arms of HIS mercy "who brings his sons from far, and his daughters from the ends of the earth;" whose religion is suited to all capacities, and adapted to all situations, whether high or low, rich or poor, learned or unlearned; none can be too high for its exalted promises, none too low for its divine consolations. It has no invidious distinctions for the elated brahmin; no desponding degradation for the outcast Chandala! for it teaches that God is no respecter of persons, but that all the faithful disciples of a crucified Redeemer shall be accepted through him.

We need not go for these consoling truths to the palaces of princes, nor the seminaries of the learned; the humblest village affords striking examples; because to the poor the gospel is preached. I have witnessed the triumphant language of a domestic servant on the bed of sickness and near the hour of death, after suffering for years in painful and languishing disorder. I beheld her, with the countenance of an angel and the fervour of a saint, thus address the minister and friends assembled round her: "I have long experienced, and in this trying hour I know the truth, and sensibly feel the support of that consoling promise, "When thou passest through the waters I will be with thee, and through the rivers they shall not overflow thee; when thou walkest through the fire, thou shalt not be burned; neither shall the flame kindle upon thee: for I am the Lord thy God, the Holy One of Israel, thy Saviour!"

Whither would not such a subject lead a philanthropist? As a contrast to these delightful truths, I insert an extract from the travels of that acute observer, Dr. Francis Buchanan, who was

employed in the year 1800 by the Marquis Wellesley, Governor-general of India, to investigate the state of agriculture, arts, commerce, religion, &c. of several different kingdoms in Hindostan. " The Tigulas, a caste in Mysore, have some faint notions of a future state; but rather as a thing of which they have heard, than as a thing of which they are firmly convinced, or in which they are much interested. The Palliwánlu, like all the other inhabitants of this country, are much addicted to the worship of the destructive powers, and endeavour to avert their wrath by bloody sacrifices. In the Smartal sect, among the crimes for which no pardon can be given is that of eating in company with persons of another caste, or of food dressed by their impure hands. And among their punishments for smaller faults is that of giving large draughts of cow's urine, which is supposed to have the power of washing away sin! The only thing in which a Sudra ought to be instructed to believe is, that the brahmins are greatly his superiors, and that the only means of gaining the favour of the gods is by giving them charity. And to those who refuse to acknowledge these doctrines, no men can be more intolerant, nor violent." And to conclude such painful extracts, Dr. Buchanan says " that among the Morasu, a caste of Sudra Hindus, where bloody sacrifices of sheep and goats are offered to Kala, one of the destroying powers, is this singular custom: when a woman is from fifteen to twenty years of age, and has borne childen, terrified lest the angry deity should deprive her of her infants, she goes to the temple, and as an offering to appease his wrath, she cuts off one or two of her fingers from the right hand." Such are the remarks of this intelligent writer; and I can but too

well confirm his assertion, that the gods of many villages are represented by a shapeless stone.

Since my return from India, I have been often asked by men skilled in political and commercial knowledge, yet seemingly ignorant of the inestimable benefits of christianity, why we should convert the Hindoos; why not leave them as we found them? Such questions are easily answered; but at present I will only ask why the compilers of that fine prayer, which forms part of the established liturgy of the English churches in Hindostan, inserted this petition, "Give to us, and to all thy servants whom thy Provi-
"dence hath placed in these remote parts of the world, grace to
"discharge our several duties with piety towards thee our God;
"loyalty towards our king; fidelity and diligence towards those
"by whom we are employed; kindness and love towards one
"another, and sincere charity towards all men; that, we adorning
"the gospel of our Lord and Saviour in all things, these Indian
"nations among whom we dwell, beholding our good works, may
"be won over to the love of our most holy religion, and glorify
"thee, our Father which art in heaven!"

Let us then hope, and by every gentle means endeavour to realize the hope, that at no very distant period the Hindoos may have a knowledge of those scriptures where the God of truth and holiness is revealed in characters becoming his glorious attributes, especially in the gospel of Jesus Christ, where mercy and justice meet together in the atonement made for a guilty world. Instead of being absorbed in their mystical reveries, may the brahmins feel the influence of the Holy Spirit, in opposition to the endless laby-

rinth of the metempsychosis! may they be taught the resurrection of the body, its reunion with the soul, and the unchangeable state of the righteous and wicked, at the final day of retribution, in realms of bliss, among angels and purified spirits in the Paradise of God; or, in a state of alienation from his beatific presence, with evil doers, in the abodes of misery and woe!

Let not this subject be placed upon a level with the *cui bono* of mundane speculations; THEY must come to an end: but here, the blessings of heaven and earth, the blessings of time and eternity, the justice and the mercy of God, all conspire to magnify its importance!

Mella jubes Hyblæa tibi, vel Hymettia nasei,
Et thyma Cecropiæ Corsica ponis api. MART.

Alas! my friend, you try in vain
Impossibilities to gain:
No bee from Corsica's rank juice
Hyblæan honey can produce. LEWIS.

The preceding remarks, amplified since my return to England, were originally written under the brahminical groves in Guzerat; so were most of the following observations; which, with mingled sensations, I have copied and enlarged from those manuscripts. By some, the ensuing pages may be thought irrelevant to the general subject of these volumes; many, I trust, will be of a different opinion. I have been for some time undetermined whether to indroduce them in part, or entirely to suppress them. Diffidence suggested the latter: a hope of doing some good to the rising generation, and especially in endeavouring to give a proper bias to the yet unprejudiced mind in India, prompts me to bring

forward what was originally written among those very brahmins who asked the questions; connected with the observations of maturer experience, and a retrospective view of later occurrences in England.

Although the generality of the brahmins at Dhuboy and Chandode were more zealous than any I conversed with in other parts of India, some of them were inquisitive about the worship of christians; of which they had conceived a faint idea from Hindoo pilgrims, or from slight observations made at our settlements during their own travels. Similar inquiries have been put to me by intelligent Indians of other castes who understood our books, and conversed in English; men of different religious professions, Hindoos, Mahomedans, and Parsees; especially by Muncher Jevan, a Parsee merchant at Bombay; a character well known, and universally esteemed for integrity, urbanity, and good sense.

These people, in their own artless, expressive style, often asked me this important question, "Master, when an Englishman dies does he think he shall go to his God?" My answer in the affirmative generally produced a reply to this effect: "Your countrymen, master, seem to take very little trouble about that business; they choose a smooth path, and scatter roses on every side. Other nations are guided by strict rules and solemn injunctions in those serious engagements, where the English seem thoughtless and unconcerned. The Hindoos constantly perform the ceremonies and sacrifices at the Dewal; the Mahomedans go through their stated prayers and ablutions at the Mosques; the Parsees suffer not the sacred fire to be extinguished, nor neglect to worship in the temple. You call yourselves Christians, so do the Roman Catholics,

who abound in India; they daily frequent their churches, fast and pray, and use many penances. The English alone appear unconcerned about an event of the greatest importance!"

On such a theme the candid mind cannot remain in a state of neutrality. The lukewarm church of Laodicea appears to have been the most offensive, and the most severely rebuked of all the Asiatic churches to whom the divine admonitions were sent. Those interested in the important concern of establishing Christianity in British India, must in the preceding paragraph behold a weighty obstacle to its success. What fruit can be expected from seed sown by the most prudent and zealous missionary if the lives of professing Christians militate against the doctrinal truths and moral precepts of the Gospel? Those Hindoos who read, and in some degree enter into the spirit of the Bible, allow its beauty and purity; nor do they seem to doubt its authenticity. In that respect, the disciples of Brahma are liberal; but, as a quiet thoughtful people, they wonder that Christianity has so little influence on the practice: they wonder such sublime precepts, such affectionate invitations, such awful threatenings, should not have more effect on its professors. The incarnation of the Son of God is no rock of offence, no stumbling block to the Hindoo, who believes in the avatars of his own deities. But he finds it difficult to reconcile a Christian's faith with what he sees of his conduct. "By their fruits ye shall know them" is the grand criterion pointed out by the Founder of that faith, to prove his disciples.

The differing castes and tribes of Indians in the English settlements, know that we have one day peculiarly set apart for public worship, as well as themselves: how do they see it observed? They

know that our blessed Redeemer preached a gospel of purity and self-denial, how do they see those virtues practised? They know that an incarnate God offered himself as a sacrifice for sin; the innocent for the guilty; that he died an ignominious death, to redeem unto himself a peculiar people, zealous of good works; instituted the eucharist in commemoration of his dying love, and before his awful sacrifice, said, "do this in remembrance of me." The Indians perform the sacrifices enjoined them; they well know their typical and sacramental meaning: what judgment must they form of our obedience to this divine ordinance?

The East has been the scene of wonders from the earliest ages; the nursery of art and science; true religion there first shed her glorious rays; and there, I trust, she will again become a "light to lighten the gentiles, and be the glory of the people of Israel!" It should also be remembered, that the hand-writing upon the wall appeared to an impious monarch in the east, when rioting with his princes and nobles, his wives and concubines, on the night the Chaldean monarchy was destroyed by Darius, the predecessor of the Persian Cyrus. The awful example of that night, in which the glory of Babylon was lost for ever, concerns every individual on whom the light of truth hath shined, whether in a cottage or a palace: each has respective duties to fulfil, an example to set, a circle to influence. All therefore should seriously reflect how far the mysterious Tekel is applicable to them; "Thou art weighed in the balance, and art found wanting!"

I have been asked by many natives of India, whether we really believed the truth of our own scriptures; when our general conduct so little corresponded with their divine injunctions. What

may *now* be the prevailing practice I cannot say; certainly the spirit of Christianity *was* not the actuating principle of European society in India. A thoughtlessness of futurity, a carelessness about religious concerns, were more prominent. Highly as I esteemed the philanthropy, benevolence, and moral character of my countrymen, I am sorry to add, that a spirit of scepticism and infidelity predominated in the younger part of the community; especially in the circle of those who had received what is called a good education; implying a knowledge of classical, mathematical, and metaphysical learning, as far as such knowledge can be acquired at sixteen years of age; the period when most of the writers were then appointed to India.

My mind is at this moment solemnly impressed with scenes long past in those remote regions; especially in conversation at the breakfast table of a gentleman, frequented by young men of the first character in the Company's civil service: infidelity was the order of the day; the systems of Voltaire and Hume the principal topic of discourse; the philosophy of Sans Souçi, the grand subject of admiration! The truths of Christianity were so entirely effaced by these doctrines, that for years together, many of those deluded youths never entered a place of worship, nor read the Bible, except for the purpose of misapplying texts, and selecting unconnected passages; so often, and so ably refuted, by all that can be urged by the force of reasoning, or the extent of learning.

I have since had occasion to witness the effect of those fatal errors upon the living and dying conduct of many who then embraced that pernicious system of infidelity. I know the misery it

has caused, and still causes, to some of the former; and the remorse which occurred at the closing scene of one of the most learned, sensible, and best informed of those eastern philosophists. This gentleman had, long before his last illness, seen the fallacy of the creed he had adopted; the same interesting passage in the prophecies of Isaiah, which engaged the attention of the minister of the Ethiopian queen, and so happily effected the conversion of a dissipated English nobleman, had, by the divine blessing, been equally instrumental to the conviction of my deluded friend. On his return to England, his brother, at that time one of our most eminent and zealous prelates, employed every mean in his power to convince him of his error, and providentially succeeded.

Soon after my arrival in London I paid him a visit, without knowing of this change in his sentiments. I found him studying the Bible; then opened at the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah, with his own manuscript comment upon that affecting and wonderful passage. This gentleman had been educated, in a more than ordinary manner, a Christian; but alas! separated far from the guides of his youth, he forgot the covenant of his God, and became enamoured with the continental philosophy: he lost his anchor of hope, sure and steadfast; and parted with the heavenly pilot, which would have conducted him through the rocks and quicksands of time, to the haven of peace, in a blissful eternity! He avowed himself to have been a champion in the cause of infidelity, and was too successful in the combat.

The breakfast party I have alluded to was principally composed of my own select friends; young men of superior talents, amiable dispositions, and elegant accomplishments: as such, I loved and

esteemed them: in another point of view I was happily permitted to adopt the decision of the venerable patriarch, "O my soul! come not thou into their secret; unto their assembly, mine honour, be not thou united!" The volume of Truth was my study; and its divine lessons were pathetically enforced in the annual letters of my beloved parents, and the revered preceptor of my youth. He constantly corresponded with me during my absence, and lived more than twenty years after my last return, a bright example of piety and virtue; until, at the advanced age of ninety, he was removed from works to rewards. Such was the Reverend David Garrow, of Hadley, a name beloved; a memory revered!

The gentleman of whom I have related the preceding anecdote became an eminent pattern of Christianity, as a husband, father, friend, and master; in a word he walked worthy of his high and holy vocation. His house was the house of prayer, and the incense of praise arose morning and evening from his assembled family. Painfully could I reverse this picture; hope, delicacy, inclination, forbid me!

In a few years it pleased that all-wise Being, in whose hands are the issues of life and death, to afflict his approved servant, now well prepared for the awful change, with a long and trying illness. Finding his last hour approach, and having taken leave of his wife and children, as the concluding act of his life, he wrote an earnest and affecting letter to a friend who had been his chief associate in the false creed of philosophy, but had not, like him, returned to that source of truth, "the merchandize whereof is better than silver, and the gain thereof than fine gold! to that wis-

dom whose ways are ways of pleasantness and all her paths are peace!"

The decrees of heaven are mysterious to short-sighted mortals. "Thy way is in the sea, and thy paths in the great waters!" was the exclamation of a pious monarch; and it must often arise in the mind of every one who attentively reads the history of mankind, or marks events passing around him: the former begins with the premature death of righteous Abel, a living pattern of faith and piety, and the continuance of his murderer Cain, as a fugitive and vagabond upon the face of the earth. In contemplating succeeding events through every period of time, true wisdom will instruct us in this truth, "Man was not made to question, but adore."

When I was a youth, a ship from England, bound for Bengal, unexpectedly arrived at Bombay, with a number of passengers for Calcutta; among them was a venerable clergyman, eminent for his talents and piety, to whom I had the pleasure of an early introduction: he preached only once, after having been a fortnight on the island, and taken pains to study the character of the European inhabitants. He selected his text from the solemn address to the church of Ephesus on forgetting her first love; and applied it to the false philosophy which then pervaded the different classes of society: "Remember, therefore, from whence thou art fallen; and repent, and do the first works: or else I will come unto thee quickly, and will remove thy candlestick out of its place, unless thou repent!" The discourse was such as became a faithful teacher, replete with sound reasoning, great earnestness, and affectionate

solicitude. The application, especially to the younger part of his audience, was conciliating, pathetic, and impressive: this excellent minister preached no more; he was the next day seized with an illness which soon terminated his earthly career! Such a pastor was suddenly taken away, while shepherds of a different description were left to feed the flock in the wilderness: for India might then be termed a spiritual wilderness, compared with the religious societies in Europe.

I never saw the apostolical Swartz, for fifty years the zealous missionary on the coast of Coromandel, whose fame must ever live in the eastern churches. Nor, during my abode in India, had I the happiness of meeting with any similar character. I was acquainted with some missionaries of the Romish communion on the Malabar coast; and several of the regular clergy stationed in the Catholic churches at Bombay, Anjengo, and other places; but with none belonging to the Danish mission, or other protestant church. Were such ministers as Swartz more common in Hindostan, much good might be done among our own countrymen, and the Indians; but while the higher classes of European society continue in thoughtless indolence, lukewarmness, or infidelity, and the garrisons and cantonments are left without religious instructors, we have little reason to expect the Hindoos will become converts to Christianity. "Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in heaven," is one of the most solemn injunctions given by its great Founder.

What good may be done in India by prudent and zealous missionaries, Swartz and others have clearly evinced. What may

still be done is pointed out in letters written at the beginning of the eighteenth century by George the First, king of England, and that eminent prelate Dr. Wake, Archbishop of Canterbury, to the Indian missionaries: they are epistles becoming a monarch of Great Britain, and of the first dignitary in the Protestant church. I reluctantly forbear inserting the letter of the former, and shall only make a short extract from the latter, to the missionaries Ziegenbalg and Grundlerus, then propagating the gospel in India.

" It will be your praise, a praise of endless duration on earth, and followed by a just recompence in heaven, to have laboured in the vineyard which yourselves have planted; to have declared the name of Christ where it was not known before; and through much peril and difficulty, to have converted to the faith those among whom ye afterwards fulfilled your ministry. Your province, therefore, brethren, your office, I place before all dignities in the church. Let others be pontiffs, patriarchs, or popes; let them glitter in purple, in scarlet, or in gold; let them seek the admiration of the wondering multitude, and receive obeisance on the bended knee: ye have acquired a better name than they, and a more sacred fame. And when that day shall arrive when the chief Shepherd shall give to every man according to his work, a greater reward shall be adjudged to you. Admitted into the glorious society of the prophets, evangelists, and apostles, ye with them shall shine, like the sun among the lesser stars, in the kingdom of your Father, for ever!

" God hath already given to you an illustrious pledge of his favour; an increase not to be expected without the aid of his

grace. He will continue to prosper your endeavours, and will subdue unto himself, by your means, the whole continent of oriental India. O happy men! who, standing before the tribunal of Christ, shall exhibit so many nations converted to his faith by your preaching; happy men! to whom it shall be given to say before the assembly of the whole human race, 'Behold us, O Lord! and the children whom thou hast given us;' happy men! who being justified by the Saviour, shall receive in that day the reward of your labours; and also shall hear that glorious encomium, "Well done, good and faithful servants, enter ye into the joy of your Lord."

Such is the path, such the reward of the Indian missionary. The clergy stationed in that remote part of the world may do much; and every individual can do something towards the glorious structure, the living temple; which is to continue not only for the short period of time, but will endure throughout those eternal ages when "time shall be no more!" They may all, in some degree, enrol themselves among those wise builders who shall shine as the brightness of the firmament: they will know that "he who converteth a sinner from the error of his ways, shall save his soul from death; and they that turn many to righteousness, shall shine as the stars for ever and ever!"

A christian, who knows and feels his obligations to the Author of his being for creation, preservation, and redemption, will endeavour to act as becometh his high and holy vocation, from the motive of love. To him, a religious life, far from being a compulsive obligation, becomes his deliberate choice, a service of perfect freedom; an unlimited conformity to the manners and cus-

toms of a thoughtless age, would be a cruel bondage. His heart having received a different bias, the world ceases to allure; he aspires after heavenly-mindedness; he tastes the celestial manna; and enjoys a peace which the world can neither give nor take away. But his religion, far from rendering him gloomy or austere, prompts him to perform every relative and social duty with peculiar delight. On proper occasions he partakes of rational recreation, innocent amusement, and convivial pleasure. Thus he pursues his earthly career, in lively faith, cheerful hope, and active charity; looking through the valley of the shadow of death to that city which hath foundations whose builder and maker is God!

In India, a climate favouring voluptuousness, with other local causes, aids the fascinating stream of fashionable inconsideration; which, united with many smaller rills, flows in a full and rapid current through the higher classes of society in Europe; and powerfully carries all before it. Against such strong temptations, where shall we find an antidote equal to the vigilance required by Christianity, and the grace promised to those who seek it? The love of God is the first principle of that religion, and leads to the practice of all inferior duties; while a forgetfulness of this great and adorable Being is the source of an irreligious and worldly spirit. In prosperity we should be cautious how we enter that vortex of dissipation from whence it is difficult to extricate ourselves: so flowery is the path to the Circean palace, so delightful the fascinating cup of pleasure, that it requires a careful step and vigilant eye to escape the alluring charms; and where to draw the line is the great diffi-

culty: but in this combat we shall soon find that strength consists in a consciousness of our own weakness, and that retreat is victory.

. Let us then, in a spirit of humility and love, meditate upon the volume of divine inspiration; we shall find the whole to possess those charms which bishop Horne has sweetly described; and we shall then know, in a degree, the delight which he experienced in writing his invaluable commentary on the Psalms. "Greatness," says this amiable prelate, "confers no exemption from the cares and sorrows of life. Its share of them frequently bears a melancholy proportion to its exaltation: this the Israelitish monarch experienced; he sought in piety that peace which he could not find in empire, and alleviated the disquietudes of state with the exercise of devotion."

"His invaluable psalms convey those comforts to others, which they afforded to himself. Composed upon particular occasions, yet designed for general use, they present religion to us in the most engaging dress; communicating truths which philosophy could never investigate, in a style which poetry can never equal; while History is made the vehicle of Prophecy, and Creation lends all its charms to paint the glories of Redemption. Calculated alike to profit and to please, they inform the understanding, elevate the affections, and entertain the imagination. Indited under the influence of HIM to whom all hearts are known, and all events foreknown, they suit mankind in all situations; grateful as the manna which descended from above, and conformed itself to every palate. The fairest productions of human wit, after a few perusals, like gathered flowers, wither in our hands, and lose

their fragrancy; but these unfading plants of Paradise become, as we are accustomed to them, more and more beautiful; their bloom appears to be daily heightened; fresh odours are emitted, and new sweets extracted from them. He who hath once tasted their excellencies, will desire to taste them again; and he who tastes them oftenest will relish them best."

I had the happiness of a personal acquaintance with the venerable prelate whose energetic language I have quoted; his life and doctrine were consistent. He was an eminent disciple of that Saviour whose precepts he loved and honoured; and his closing scene realized the sublime description of the poet.

> "The chamber where the good man meets his fate,
> "Is privileg'd beyond the common walk
> "Of virtuous life, quite in the verge of heaven:
> "God waits not the last moment, owns his friends
> "On this side death; and points them out to men,
> "A lecture silent, but of sovereign power;
> "To Vice confusion, and to Virtue peace!" YOUNG.

I will conclude in the words of a pious modern writer, who has happily condensed all I would further say on this momentous concern. "I do not presume to appreciate what *his* feelings, or *his* fears may be, who says in his heart that there is no God; nor yet of *his*, who pretends to acknowledge the being of a God, and wholly disbelieves a divine revelation of his will. If there be no God, there can be no future state. What then will be the value of life? If there be a God that hath made no revelation of his will, consequently hath afforded not one gleam of hope beyond the grave, what will be the value of death? The

expectation of annihilation will add no value to a life where all moral principle has been wanting. It will give no comfort to a death, where every thought, every word, every action, every friend and every foe is buried in one eternal oblivion. Happy Christian! sleep in peace; thy Saviour is *thy* kind and compassionate friend, through all the stages of thy various life; and if, by Divine grace, thou continuest faithful unto death, thou mayest look forward to his further help, when he shall open for thee the gate of an everlasting state of existence!" BREWSTER.

Engraved by J. Shury

Scene on the Banks of the NERBUDDA near CHANDODE.

Jam. Forbes. 1762.

Published by White Cochrane & Co. Fleet Street, June 1st. 1812.

Engraved by J. Storey.

A BRAHMIN WOMAN of Distinction in GUZERAT.

Jam. Forbes, 1781.

Published by White, Cochrane & Co. Fleet Street June [illegible]

Engraved by J. Shury.

Small HINDOO TEMPLE on the Bank of the NERBUDDA.

Jam. Forbes. 1778.

Engraved by J. Greig.

A BANIAN TREE, *consecrated for Worship in a* GUZERAT VILLAGE.

Jam. Forbes. 1781.

Published by White, Cochrane & Co. Fleet Street, June 1st. 1812.

Engraved by J. Sharp.

Scenery among the SACRED HINDOO GROVES *near* CHANDODE.

Jam. Forbes 1782.

Published by White, Cochrane & Co. Fleet Street, June 1st 1812.

CHAPTER XXIX.

OCCURRENCES DURING A JOURNEY FROM BAROCHE TO AHMED-ABAD, THROUGH THE DISTRICTS OF AHMOOD, JAMBOSEER, AND CAMBAY.

1781.

Lo, Ganges' genius mourns! while yet, sublime,
With arts and muses smil'd his native clime;
And rich with science, round his plains he lov'd
The golden hours in blooming circle mov'd.
With grief he saw the future ages rise,
Dark with their sad and fearful destinies;
Mark'd bleeding science pinion'd to the ground,
And all her blasted trophies withering round!
—Alas! how dark the baleful ruins spread!
What filial tears the sons of Science shed!
While in each bower the widow'd Arts repine,
And Learning clasps her violated shrine.
Sad on his staff, 'mid Casis' blasted scenes,
Himself how fallen! the aged Pandeet leans.

C. Grant.

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CHAPTER XXIX.

General Goddard, in command of the army detached from Bengal in 1779 to the assistance of the government at Bombay, having conquered Ahmedabad and several other places in the Guzerat province, I embraced the first opportunity in my power to visit that celebrated capital, formerly the pride of western Hindostan, and still vying with Agra and Delhi in magnificent remains of mogul grandeur.

Having finished the latter harvests, and collected the revenues in the Dhuboy districts, in the month of April 1781 I commenced my journey, proceeding first to Baroche, and from thence to Ahmood, a distance of twenty miles. In Guzerat, as in most other parts of India, the distance from one place to another is reckoned by the *coss*, which in that province seldom exceeds one mile and a half. Its length varies in different countries, although geographers generally estimate the coss in Hindostan at two English miles. The usual rate of travelling in a hackery, drawn by a pair of bullocks, or in a palanquin, with eight bearers to relieve each other, is from three to four miles an hour; this they will keep up for five hours without inconvenience.

The *Boukie* and *Nyar* are the only rivers between Baroche and

banks, and covered the adjacent fields. One of the company's armed vessels lately arrived from Bombay was lost in the river, together with a great number of large cotton boats and other craft, richly laden.

The effects of this storm at Surat were still more dreadful; many ships foundered at the bar, or were driven on shore; the banks of the Tappee were covered with wrecks, which the violence of the wind and swelling floods carried to a great distance inland; the river flowed into the city, covered the surrounding country, and did incalculable damage. I will not give the melancholy detail which at the time interested every feeling heart, though one circumstance must not be entirely passed over. The English being at war with the Mahrattas, large detachments of their cavalry were then in the vicinity of Surat, committing their usual depredations. About three thousand inhabitants, to avoid their cruelty, deserted the villages, and took refuge on an island in the Tappee, with their wives, children, cattle, furniture, looms, spinning wheels, and stock of grain for the rainy season. There they anticipated an asylum until the setting in of the monsoon should drive the Mahrattas from the country, and allow them to return home. They had, alas! a more formidable enemy to contend with; on that fatal night the river entirely overwhelmed the island, and carried off every individual!

My palanquin-bearers now found no difficulty in fording the stream of the Dahder; the last time I crossed it was with some danger, on a raft placed over earthen pots, a contrivance well known in modern Egypt, where they make a float of earthen pots tied together, covered with a platform of palm leaves, which will

bear a considerable weight, and is conducted without difficulty. This satisfactorily explains the earthen-ware boats of Juvenal.

> Hac sævit rabie imbelle et inutile vulgus,
> Parvula fictilibus solitum dare vela phaselis,
> Et brevibus pictæ remis incumbere testæ. Sat. 15. ver. 126.

On crossing the Dahder I entered the Jamboseer purgunna; it presents a more pleasing landscape than Ahmood and Baroche, which generally consist of open cultivated plains, with trees only near the villages. Here the fields are enclosed, and the whole country enriched by plantations of mango, tamarind, and banian-trees. Forty or fifty full-grown mango-trees will cover a square acre of ground, forming a dark grove of beautiful foliage to shelter the traveller from meridian heat; and at the season I was there, affording a golden produce for his refreshment. The mangos vary as much in size as flavour, weighing from two ounces to near a pound. Although the tamarind tree is exquisitely beautiful, and its fruit pleasant and wholesome, it is deemed by the natives extremely unhealthy to sleep or even to rest under its shade. Captain Williamson justly observes, that "the numerous plantations of mango-trees by the natives, chiefly through ostentation, afford considerable convenience to persons inhabiting tents. Some of these plantations, or *topes*, are of such extent that an army of ten or twelve thousand men may encamp under shelter; a circumstance which to the native soldiery, with whom tents are not in use, is of great moment. In the hot season the shade is both pleasant and salutary, in the cold months these woods afford warmth by keeping off the bleak wind; and in the rainy portion of the year those trees

which have the thickest foliage contribute to the comfort of the troops, by throwing the water off from certain spots, and rendering them habitable. Sporting parties are benefited in a similar manner; such places are chosen as are well shaded, and near to wells or tanks. It is a general practice when a plantation of mango trees is made, to dig a well on one side of it. The well and the *tope* are married, a ceremony at which all the village attends, and large sums are often expended. The well is considered as the husband; as its waters, which are copiously furnished to the young trees during the first hot season, are supposed to cherish and impregnate them. Though vanity and superstition may be the basis of these institutions, yet we cannot help admitting their effects, so beautifully ornamenting a torrid country, and affording such general convenience."

The soil of the Jamboseer purgunna is light and fertile, favourable to juarree, bajeree, and other grain. The western plains, of a rich black earth, produce abundant crops of wheat and cotton. This district had then been six years in the company's possession, under the care of Mr. Callander, a gentleman whose attention to agriculture and the happiness of the peasants, rendered the villages flourishing, wealthy, and populous. The country had the appearance of a garden, and peace and plenty smiled around him. The annual revenue usually amounted to five lacs of rupees.

The crops, similar to those in the Dhuboy districts, were in general very abundant; failure of rain sometimes causes a scarcity, but a real famine is seldom experienced in Guzerat: when it does happen the consequence is dreadful! Famine is generally succeeded by pestilence, and the *paradise of nations* becomes a desert! " All

nature sickens, and each gale is death." During my residence in India I never witnessed these calamities in any alarming degree; since my return to England both sides of the peninsula have felt their dire effects. I remember the rains at Bombay being once withheld until long after the usual season. To avert the fatal consequences apprehended, the professors of all the different religions on the island made solemn processions to their respective places of worship, to offer up prayers and supplications to the GREAT PARENT of the universe. In the Protestant and Romish churches the usual petitions were made for this blessing. The Hindoos were lavish in their ceremonies; the mahomedans daily opened their mosques, and the Parsees fed the sacred fire with a double portion of holy oil and sandal-wood. At length the rain poured down copiously, fear vanished, "the wilderness and the solitary place rejoiced, and the desert blossomed as the rose!"

The extent of these dreadful famines in India is not easily conceived in Europe. The account of one in the northern provinces of Bengal, by Captain Williamson, is truly affecting. It is a plain unvarnished tale which I shall not pass over, because, among many interesting particulars, it displays the English character in India in the light in which it deserves to be estimated. A Briton, wherever his lot may be cast, feels and acts in the true sense of Terence's often-quoted line,

"Homo sum, humani nihil a me alienum puto."

I am a man, and have a fellow-feeling for every thing belonging to MAN!

"Nothing could be more distressing than the effects produced by the famine, which, owing to the extreme drought of the year

1783, prevailed throughout all the subsequent season throughout the whole of the northern provinces, but was especially felt in the dominions of the Nabob Vizier of Oude. Even in the fertile and well-cultivated districts subject to the control of the English government, a very alarming scarcity prevailed, which would probably, but for the timely precautions adopted, have proved of irremediable injury. In the Nabob Vizier's territories, where order was wanting, and where industry is by no means a characteristic, the inhabitants were reduced to the utmost distress. The more opulent had hoarded up their grain; some, perhaps, did so under the limited and prudent intention of securing their own families from want, while many, foreseeing what was inevitable, neglected no means to procure corn of all descriptions, with the nefarious view of taking advantage of the times, and bent on raising their fortunes on the miseries of their fellow-creatures. Few, however, succeeded in their speculations. The hordes of famished wretches who patroled the country made no distinction of property, but, urged by the imperious calls of nature, plundered alike the savings of the provident and the accumulations of the monopolists.

"This being but a temporary relief, had the baneful effect of encouraging a spirit of depredation, whereby, in lieu of retailing what did exist with a sparing hand, all was profusion for the moment, and not a little lost in the scramble. Such was the blind infatuation of the million of walking spectres, that, in the moment of phrenzy and despair, many granaries were burnt. Resentment overcame even the principles of self-preservation, and impelled them to the perpetration of follies such as indicated the wish not to obtain redress, but to involve all under one general ruin."

" Here it may be proper, as well to prevent illiberal suspicions from attaching to Europeans at that period as on other occasions, to state, that throughout the country the most zealous and unanimous means were adopted to check the evil. So far from blemishing the national character, the philanthropy displayed by the gentlemen of all professions in India justly entitles them to the foremost rank. Their sensibility and energy did them immortal honour. Of this, however, it would not be very easy to satisfy a famished multitude. We cannot expect discrimination from the poor wretch whose cravings guide his thoughts to one object only, and which, moreover, he views according to his own disconsolate situation.

" When it became obvious that the famine could not be averted, government sent supplies, which indeed could be ill afforded, from Bengal, where the scarcity was least felt, to the troops through the upper country. This measure, however salutary, could have but a partial effect, but more could not be done. To lessen the evil as much as possible, the European gentlemen entered into large contributions for the purposes of procuring grain from other parts. The liberal scale on which these subscriptions were conducted will be sufficiently understood when it is stated that, at Cawnpore alone, where about eight thousand men were cantoned, no less a sum than a lac of rupees, equal to twelve thousand five hundred pounds, was collected, and being vested with a committee, whose economy and assiduity merit the warmest encomiums, was applied to the relief of as many persons as it was supposed could be maintained until the next harvest.

" All could not be relieved; consequently the station occasion-

ally exhibited a scene of the most horrid licentiousness, which few, however necessary it might be, could harden their hearsts sufficiently to repel! As to live stock, little was left. Religious boundaries were annihilated, and all castes or sects were seen to devour what their tenets taught them either to respect or to abhor. Many devoured their own children! and thousands perished while attempting to force open pantries, and other places containing victuals, insomuch that it was common to find in the morning the out-offices of our houses half filled with dying objects, who with their ghastly countenances seemed to express hope, while their tongues gave utterance to curses!

" The good intention of the donors was productive of a very serious evil, which in the first instance was not, perhaps, sufficiently guarded against. The intelligence was rapidly spread throughout the country that the Europeans, at the several military and civil stations, had made provision for supplying the poor with rice. This induced all to bend their course towards the nearest asylum. Thousands perished by the way from absolute hunger, while numbers fell an easy prey to the wolves, which being bereft of their usual means of subsistence by the general destruction of all eatable animals, were at first compelled, and afterwards found it convenient to attack the wretched wanderers. The little resistance they experienced in their depredations on these unfortunate creatures, emboldened them in an astonishing manner, and taught them to look with contempt and defiance towards a race of whose powers they were heretofore in awe.

" Such numbers, however, succeeded in finding their way to the cantonments, that we were to all intents in a state of siege. The

wolves followed, and were to be seen in all directions committing havoc among the dying crowd. They absolutely occupied many gardens and out-houses, and often in open day trotted about like so many dogs, proceeding from one ravine to another without seeming to entertain the least apprehension. So familiar had they become with mankind, and so little did they seem disposed to remove from what to them was a scene of abundance! I cannot give a stronger idea of our situation than by informing the reader, that not only the wolves, but even the swine, were to be seen in all directions attacking the poor wretches, whose feeble endeavours to drive away their ravenous devourers, were the only indications that the vital sparks were not quite extinct.

"The demise of such numbers tainted the air, and caused a sickness among the troops. Many officers died of putrid fevers, and the most serious consequences would inevitably have followed but for the setting in of the rains, which both abated the extreme heat of the atmosphere and carried off immense quantities of offensive remains. It is not easy to assert how many died, but I heard it stated by some gentlemen of the committee for managing the subscription money, that at least two hundred thousand persons had flocked from the country, of whom not more than one in twenty could be maintained for the number of months which must elapse before the soil could render its aid. To calculate upon less than a regular supply until such should be the case, would have been absurd; for there was not the smallest probability of the scourge being abated in the meanwhile. The lower provinces, as before remarked, could do little more than support them-

selves; and no periodical supply of the fruits, &c. usually produced in the rainy season, could be expected in a country of which nearly two-thirds of the population was destroyed.

"This mournful scene, however, gradually drew to a close. The unfortunate group had either died, or had been restored to health, and were capable of returning to their occupations. The wolves now felt themselves bereft of their usual prey, but did not lose their habit of attacking men; many of whom, though in general provided with some means of defence, which circumstances had rendered necessary, yet became victims to their depredations, till at length measures could be taken to check their rapacity, and they were obliged to have recourse to their former researches for food."

Jamboseer, the capital of the purgunna, is only seven miles from Ahmood, although I have made a long digression from the direct road to the distant provinces of Bengal. The town is two miles in circumference, surrounded by a mud wall. The gurry was deemed a place of strength against the country powers, but these citadels soon fell before European artillery. Some of the Hindoo houses are large; the exterior style of architecture has neither elegance nor proportion; the interior generally consists of small dark low rooms, surrounding an open area, which sometimes contains a garden and fountain, with an altar of tulsee, the sacred plant of the brahmins. The stairs are always steep and narrow; the roofs are often flat, but frequently covered with tiles. The inferior houses have either tiled roofs, or are thatched with jungle grass, or the leaves of the palmyra. Like most large towns in Guzerat, Jamboseer is situated near an extensive lake, the banks adorned with Hindoo temples and caravansaries, overshadowed by

mango and banian trees, and the surface almost covered by the lovely flowers of the lotus in all its varied hues.

Mr. Callander accompanied me from Jamboseer to Ahmedabad. We left his hospitable mansion early on the 27th of April, and passed the sultry hours at Gudgerah, a large populous town surrounded by a wall, to protect it from the depredations of the *Coolies*, who are a very insolent set among the numerous, and probably indigenous tribes of freebooters and robbers in this part of Guzerat. The Indian robbers of all descriptions are uncommonly clever, and by long habit elude the greatest vigilance.

From Gudgerah we proceeded to Corelli, a pleasant village on the south banks of the Mahi, which gives its name to the celebrated pass over that river. We pitched our tents under a spreading banian-tree, and passed the night more pleasantly than we could have done in any house in the village, although in those districts the villages are generally large and tolerably convenient, with a bazar or market well supplied. Banian and mango groves, temples, choultries, wells, and tanks, add to their comfort and beauty. They realize Southey's picture in detached parts of his Kehama, which I have brought together, as a novel and faithful description of a good Hindoo village.

'Twas a fair scene wherein they stood,
A green and sunny glade amid the wood,
And in the midst an aged banian grew.
It was a goodly sight to see
That venerable tree;
For o'er the lawn, irregularly spread
Fifty straight columns propt its lofty head;
And many a long depending shoot,
Seeking to strike its root,

Straight like a plummet grew towards the ground.
Some on the lower boughs which cross'd their way,
Fixing their bearded fibres round and round,
With many a ring and wild contortion wound:
Some to the passing wind at times, with sway
Of gentle motion swung;
Others of deeper growth, unmov'd, were hung
Like stone-drops from the cavern's fretted height.
Beneath was fair and smooth to sight,
Nor weeds nor briars deform'd the natural floor;
And through the leafy cope which bower'd it o'er
Came gleams of chequer'd light.
So like a temple did it seem, that there,
A pious heart's first impulse would be prayer!

A brook with easy current murmur'd near;
Water so cool and clear,
The peasants drink not from the humble well,
Which they, with sacrifice of rural pride,
Have wedded to the cocoa-grove beside;
Nor tanks of costliest masonry dispense
To those in towns who dwell,
The work of kings in their beneficence.
Fed by perpetual springs, a small lagoon,
Pellucid, deep, and still, in silence join'd
And swell'd the passing stream. Like burnish'd steel
Glowing it lay, beneath the eye of noon!
And when the breezes in their play,
Ruffled the darkening surface, then, with gleam
Of sudden light, around the lotus stem
It rippl'd, and the sacred flowers that crown
The lakelet with their roseate beauty, ride,
In gentlest waving, rock'd, from side to side;
And as the wind upheaves
Their broad and buoyant weight, the glossy leaves
Flap on the twinkling waters, up and down.

There, from the intolerable heat,
The buffaloes retreat;
Only their nostrils rais'd to meet the air,
Amid the sheltering element they rest.
The market-flag, which hoisted high,
From far and nigh,
Above yon cocoa-grove is seen,
Hangs motionless amid the sultry sky.
Loud sounds the village drum; a happy crowd
Is there.
Behold *Ladurlad's* home,
By yonder peepal-tree o'ershaded:
There *Marriataly's* image stands,
And there the garland twin'd by *Kailyal's* hands
Around its brow hath faded.
The peacocks at their master's sight,
Quick from the leafy thatch alight,
And hurry round, and search the ground,
And veer their glancing necks from side to side,
Expecting from his hand
Their daily dole, which erst the maid supplied,
Now all too long denied.

Evening comes on; arising from the stream,
Homeward the tall flamingo wings his flight;
And where he sails athwart the setting beam,
His scarlet plumage glows with deeper light.
The watchman, at the wish'd approach of night,
Gladly forsakes the field, where he all day,
To scare the winged plunderers from their prey,
With shout and sling, on yonder clay-built height,
Hath borne the sultry ray.
Hark! at the sacred Hindoo fane
The brahmin strikes the hour:

For leagues and leagues around, the brazen sound
Rolls through the stillness of departing day,
Like thunder far away!

The stanzas are accurately descriptive of the superior order of villages in Hindostan. The natural history of the banian-tree is equally just and poetical with Milton's admired lines on the ficus Indica, and more copious. The description of the lotus transports those who have been accustomed to that beautiful flower to the calm and peaceful scenery of a Hindoo lake, and awakens a thousand pleasing recollections.

Ampliat ætatis spatium sibi vir bonus, hoc est
Vivere bis, vita posse priore frui. MART.

They stretch the limits of this narrow span,
And, by enjoying, live past life again.

In such a tranquil scene we usually pitched our tents. Our travelling *marquee* had a fly or awning, which being a few feet above the roof of the tent, and spreading some distance around, kept it cool, and afforded a sort of veranda to shade our servants, in a deficiency of trees. To render it more effectually cool during the hot winds prevalent in April and May, instead of the usual purdahs, or hangings of cotton before the entrance, we placed *tatties*, or screens of matted grass, especially the fragrant cusa, when we could procure it. These being kept constantly watered, the passing air was cooled, and the interior of the tent rendered very comfortable.

I have already observed, we were obliged to travel with beds and every necessary comfort; our views never extended beyond that invaluable word; a word but little known out of an English

vocabulary, although the luxury of an Asiatic encampment often equals that of the most refined cities. Our cooking was very simple; the fowl being frequently roasted on a wooden spit, supported by two branches from the nearest tree; boiled meat, vegetables, rice, and curry, were dressed in earthen pots supplied by the village, and placed over little fires made between sods, or in holes in the earth. In such rural encampments our provisions were in no danger of being taken by the natives, who would not have tasted the greatest dainties. It was not so easy to guard against the monkeys, who slily purloined bread, fruit, and country beer, a liquor made with English porter, palm-wine, and water, of which those animals are extremely fond. We had still a bolder and more ravenous enemy in the hawks and brahminee kites, constantly hovering near, ready to dart on a roasted fowl, or quarter of kid, while actually carrying by the servants from the temporary kitchen to the dining tent. There are vultures in Guzerat, but not so common as at Bombay, where the parsee sepulchres are their great attraction; but the dogs, with which all the Indian towns and villages abound, clear away every offal. They are numerous, noisy, and troublesome, especially to travellers. They are called pariar-dogs, have no respective owner, generally subsist upon charity, and are never destroyed. They frequently hunt in large packs like the jackals, which they resemble in many other respects.

We left our umbrageous dormitory near Corelli at an early hour the next morning, and immediately descended the banks of the Mahi at the pass of that name. The bed of the river is six miles broad, although the stream, even at spring-tides, does not exceed two; but during the floods from the Malwa mountains, where this

river rises, it swells to a great height, fills the channel, and rushes impetuously to the Cambay gulf. When we crossed it, towards the end of the fair season, the ford was so shallow that loaded carts passed over without danger.

Captain Wilford justly remarks, that the geography of Ptolemy, in this part of India, is distorted to an astonishing degree; for, besides other mistakes, he supposes the river *Mahi* to form an elbow, and to run close to the *Narmada*, or *Nerbudda*, with which it is made to communicate through a short canal, and then afterwards to fall into the gulf of *Cantha*. The *Mahi* is a celebrated river, and the daughter of the earth *(Mahi)*, and of the sweat *(ushna)*, that ran copiously from the body of *Indradyumna*, king of Ujjayini; and famous in the legends relating to the white island in the west. Ptolemy's sardonyx mountains are doubtless the Copperwange, or Cubburpunj hills, still famous for cornelians, agates, and the sprig-stones generally called mocha stones. The best cornelians are brought from Rajpipla; the art of cutting and polishing these stones seems to be exclusively confined to Cambay.

It occupied two hours to cross the bed of the Mahi. We reached the northern bank at the well-known pass of Dewan, a narrow defile between steep banks thirty feet high, through which only one cart can proceed at a time. On leaving this defile we were met in a friendly manner by *Jeejabhy*, a famous chieftain among the coolies. The principal *rajah* of these refractory tribes resides at Ometah, the chief fortress of the Mahi coolies, a few miles to the east of Dewan. These people maintaining in their fastnesses an armed independence, deem it no disgrace to be robbers and plunderers of all whom they can master, that venture to

travel without their escort. This gives them many advantages over their neighbours, and makes them respected by the surrounding governments, by whom small bodies of Coolies are frequently entertained as occasional escorts and safeguards. They were then on friendly terms with the English, but we thought it necessary to travel with an escort of five-and-twenty native cavalry, and a detachment of Arab and Scindian infantry, armed with matchlocks, to prevent either plunder or insults from the Coolies and Cotties, another tribe of freebooters inhabiting the country of Cottyawar, further to the north-west. They are always well mounted and roam in troops, to lay travellers under contribution, rob villages, and drive off the cattle.

Robbery and plunder being the general pursuit of these people, I was surprised to see the Coolie districts under excellent cultivation; their villages were large and populous, the fields enclosed by hedges, planted with mango and tamarind trees. We travelled without molestation through this delightful country, but on entering the Cambay purgunna every thing wore a different aspect; the soil was equally rich, though by no means so well cultivated; nor were the villages half inhabited. The Nabob's government, pressed by the wants of Mogul ostentation, was too oppressive for the increase of population, or encouragement of agriculture.

> " In vain kind seasons swell the teeming grain,
> " Soft showers distil, and suns grow warm in vain;
> " The swain with tears his frustrate labour yields,
> " And famish'd, dies, amidst his ripen'd fields. POPE,

Under a mild government, the Cambay purgunna, with the advantage of its bunder or port, is capable of being rendered equal to

any in Hindostan. Its light and fertile soil yields a rich return of every thing committed to its bosom, and great quantities of coarse coloured cottons are manufactured in the city, and exported for the African markets.

A few miles from Cambay we passed over gentle hills, covered with groves, commanding a delightful view of the surrounding plain. I mention this circumstance, because in the whole Guzerat province there is seldom a rising ground to the west of Powagur, or the mountains which separate it from the interior parts of Hindostan. The rich prospects in this country delight the traveller, but afford little variety for description. The heavy roads retarded our arrival at Cambay; in that light sandy soil the rainy season is preferable for a journey; the sands then become solid, and the rains are not so violent as in the southern latitudes.

In the tract of country through which we had now travelled, we observed several neat modern temples at the Hindoo villages, similar to those in other parts of Guzerat. There are also scattered remains of ancient and magnificent structures, both Hindoo and Mahomedan; handsome wells and extensive tanks lined with stone, indicated the former wealth of the country. The village temples as usual were near a grove or burr-tree, and where there was no temple the ryots were content to join their brahmin in sacrifice and prayer under these verdant fanes. The LINGAM seems to be a general object of worship among the villagers; the image of GANEISH, or Ganeasa, the god of wisdom, denoted by the elephant's head, the symbol of sagacity, is often placed against the trunk of the banian tree; as is also that of BHAVANI, or BOWANNEE, the goddess of fecundity.

I expected to find more remains of antiquity in these districts, because in the essays on the *Sacred Isles of the West*, we are informed that in the fifth century of the christian era, *Cambat*, or Cambay, was " the metropolis of the *Bala-rayas*, and perhaps of the emperors of the west also, when these two dignities happened to be united in the same person; and it was also the place of residence of Tamra-Sena, so called from his metropolis, *Tamra-pura*, signifying the Copper-city, which is supposed to have been entirely built of that metal; but, if I may offer my opinion, it received its name from the domes and spires of the temples being covered with copper. This city was near Cambat, but tradition says that it was swallowed up by the sea; and Cambat was a famous place of worship, called in the puranas *Shambhast'ha-Tirt'ha*, from a *shambha* or column close to the sacred pool. Now a column is called *camba* in the spoken dialects, and from *cambasta* is derived its present name of *Cambat*. *Shambhast'ha* and *Tamra-pura* are called *Asta* and Trapera, by the author of the *Periplus;* but Ptolemy, considering these two places as one only, for they were close to each other, calls it *Astacampra*, or *Astacapra;* and instead of *Tamra*, which signifies copper, he writes *Campra*, or *Capra*. The reason why he has carried this place so far inland, on the banks of the *Mahi* is, that either he or some other writer misunderstood the natives, who have no word for a bay or gulph, and use generally the word river instead of it, particularly when there is one at the bottom of the gulph, as in the present case. Osorio, a Portugueze writer, says that when Francis D'Almeida landed near *Cambat*, in the year 1519, he saw the ruins of sumptuous buildings and temples, the remains of an ancient city; the history of which was connected

with that of a foreign prince. Such ruins are said to exist to this day, not close to Cambat, but at a place called *Cavi*, or *Cavi-gaw*, to the south of *Cambat*, where are temples and other buildings, with statues half buried in the sands, by which this place was overwhelmed."

I saw nothing of the column above-mentioned, which designated the name of Cambat, but such were not uncommon in former times, as we find from the pillar at *Delhi*, still remaining, which is generally, although improperly, called the pillar of Feeroze Shah. It consists of a single stone of a reddish colour, tapering upwards, and is now thirty-seven feet above the hunting palace that surrounds it. It is said that only one-third of this column is visible, the rest being buried under ground and concealed by ruins. Feeroze Shah, whose name is now attached to this pillar, though it must have been erected as some Hindoo monument at a much earlier period, reigned at Delhi between the years 1351 and 1388 A. D. in which he died, at the age of ninety. A part of his character in Ferishtu's history shews what may be done by a benevolent and peaceful monarch: "Though no great warrior in the field, Feeroz Shah was by his excellent qualities well calculated for a reign of peace. He reigned thirty-eight years and nine months, and left many memorials of his magnificence in the land. He built fifty great sluices, forty mosques, thirty schools, twenty caravansaries, an hundred palaces, five hospitals, an hundred tombs, ten baths, ten spires, one hundred and fifty wells, one hundred bridges, and the pleasure-gardens he made were without number."

It is probable the column which gave its name to Cambay resembled the *Lat*, or pillar of Feroze-Shah. The remains may be

extant among the other ruins of ancient buildings in the environs of the modern city. The juma-musjed, or grand mosque at Cambay, was, as I have formerly remarked, a Hindoo temple of great antiquity before it was dedicated by the mahomedans to Alla. Shawuk pagoda, and many other Hindoo edifices bear a very ancient date. The antiquity of the Hindoos involves such a variety of matter, and embraces so many objects, that it is a very difficult field to enter; and yet who could travel over the plains of Cambaya without recollecting they had employed the pens of Arrian and Ptolemy many ages past? And, if not already proved, it will most probably soon be discovered, that there has been a very ancient communication between Hindostan and Great Britain. Should it be ascertained that the latter is one of the *Sacred Isles of the West*, in the Hindoo *puranas*, it is impossible to calculate the result of such researches.

This is a subject too deep for my investigation, but has been ably taken up in the Asiatic researches, by Captain Wilford, whose learned Essays tend to prove, that "the sacred isles in the west, of which *Sweta-dwipa*, or the White Island, is the principal, and the most famous, are in fact the holy land of the Hindoos. There, the fundamental and mysterious transactions of the history of their religion in its rise and progress took place. The White Island, this holy land in the west, is so intimately connected with their religion and mythology, that they cannot be separated; and of course, divines in India are necessarily acquainted with it, as distant Musselmans with Arabia." This, says Captain Wilford, "I conceive to be a most favourable circumstance, as in the present case the learned have little more to do than to ascertain whether the White

Island be England, and the Sacred Isles of the Hindoos the British isles. After having maturely considered the subject, I think they are." To this may be added the conclusion of Sir William Jones's third discourse delivered to the Asiatic Society in 1786. "Of these cursory observations on the Hindoos, which it would require volumes to expand and illustrate, this is the result: that they had an immemorial affinity with the old Persians, Ethiopians, and Egyptians; the Phenicians, Greeks, and Tuscans; the Scythians or Goths, and Celts; the Chinese, Japanese, and Peruvians. Whence, as no reason appears for believing that they were a colony from any one of those nations, or any of those nations from them, we may fairly conclude they all proceeded from some central country, to investigate which will be my future object."

It has been observed by careful investigators, that there is a great resemblance between many of the Hindoo festivals and the old feasts in England. Colonel Pearse remarks, that on the festival of Bhawanee, which answers to our May-day, the Gopas and all other herdsmen frequent the gardens on that day, erect a pile in the fields, and adorn it with pendants and garlands. Mr. Paterson, on the origin of the Hindoo religion, in describing the festival of the *Hooli*, compares it with the *Hilaria* of the Romans, celebrated at the vernal equinox in honour of the mother of the gods. "It was a festival which was continued for several days, with great display of pomp and rejoicing. It began the eighth day before the calends of April, or the 25th of March. The statue of Cybele was carried about in procession, and the attending crowds assumed to themselves whatever rank, character, or dress, their fancy led them to prefer. It was a kind of masquerade, full of

mirth and frolic. In fact, it was the Earth, under the name of Cybele, which was worshipped at the commencement of that genial season, when she receives from the sun those vivifying rays which are so adapted to the production of fruits and flowers. Let this ceremony be compared with the Hindoo celebration of the Hooli, at the same period of the year. The epithet of *purple* is constantly given to the spring by the Roman poets, in allusion to the blossoms which nature, as it were in sport, scatters over the earth with such variety and profusion. The Hindoos design the same idea in the purple powder *Abir*, which they throw about at each other with so much sportive pleasantry. The objects of worship with the Hindoos are the earth and fire; that genial warmth which pervades all nature at that period of the year. The licentiousness of the songs and dances at this season was intended to express the effects of that warmth on all animated objects. The Hindoos have likewise their masquerading processions, in which gods and goddesses, rajahs and ranees, are represented; and the ceremonies are concluded by burning the past or deceased year, and welcoming the renovation of nature."

During the festival of the Hooli, when hilarity and mirth pervade every class of society, one subject of diversion is to send people on errands and expeditions that are to end in disappointment, and raise a laugh at the expense of the person sent. This is very similar to the first day of April in England. The Hooli is always in the month of March, and the last day is the greatest holiday.

The Hindoo festival of Vastu Puja, on the day when the proprietors of land worship the earth and fire, is similar to that of

Vesta at Rome. The Romans worshipped the goddess of nature, under the symbols of earth and fire. The sects of Visnoo and Siva do the same. The former offer an oblation of fruit and flowers, the latter sacrifice a sheep to their respective deities.

In my letters from Dhuboy and Chandode I have so fully described the Hindoo temples and customs of the brahmins, that it would be superfluous to add any thing further upon those subjects. I have not entered into many particular ceremonies of the Hindoo worship at their respective temples. Several of their rites are very little known to Europeans, and according to our judgment appear absurd and trifling. I will give only a single specimen from the tedious ceremonials with which their ritual abounds, selected from Mr. Colebrooke's religious ceremonies of the Hindoos, but without attempting to detail the whole ceremony. Indeed most readers will think this specimen amply sufficient.

" A *brahmana* arising from sleep, is enjoined, under the penalty of losing the benefit of all rites performed by him, to rub his teeth with a proper withe, or a twig of the racemiferous fig-tree, pronouncing to himself this prayer, " Attend, lord of the forest; SAMA, king of herbs and plants has approached thee: mayest thou and he cleanse my mouth with glory and good auspices, that I may eat abundant food!" Then follows a long account of bathing and ablutions, which having finished he puts on his mantle, after washing it, and sits down to worship the rising sun.

" This ceremony is begun by his tying the lock of hair on the crown of his head, while he recites the *Gayatri*, holding much *cusa* grass in his left, and three blades of the same grass in his right hand; or wearing a ring of grass on the third finger of the same

hand. Thrice sipping water with the same text, preceded by the same mysterious name of worlds, and each time rubbing his hands as if washing them; and finally touching with his wet hand his feet, head, breast, eyes, ears, nose, and navel; or his breast, navel, and both shoulders; only (according to another rule) he should again sip water three times, pronouncing to himself the expiatory text which recites the creation. If he happen to sneeze or spit, he must not immediately sip water, but first touch his right ear, in compliance with the maxim, "after sneezing, spitting, blowing his nose, sleeping, putting on apparel, or dropping tears, a man should not immediately sip water, but first touch his right ear." "Fire," says PARASARA, "water, the *Vedas*, the sun, moon, and air, all reside in the right ear of brahmanas. *Ganga* is in their right ears, sacrificial fire in their nostrils, at the moment when both are touched impurity vanishes." This will explain the practice of suspending the end of the sacerdotal string over the right ear, to purify that string from the defilement which follows an evacuation of urine. The sipping of water is a requisite introduction of all rites; without it, says the *Samba Purana*, all acts of religion are vain. Having therefore sipped water as abovementioned, and passed his hand filled with water briskly round his neck, while he recites this prayer, "May the waters preserve me!" the priest closes his eyes, and meditates in silence, figuring to himself that BRAHMA, with four faces and a red complexion, resides in his navel; VISHNU, with four arms and a black complexion, in his heart; and SIVA, with five faces and a white complexion, in his forehead. The priest afterwards meditates the holiest of texts during three suppressions of breath. Closing the left nostril with the two longest fingers of his right hand, he

draws his breath through the right nostril, and then closing that nostril likewise with his thumb, holds his breath while he meditates the text. He then raises both fingers off the left nostril, and emits the breath he had suppressed. While he holds his breath, he must on this occasion repeat to himself the *Gayatri*, with the mysterious names of the worlds, the triliteral monosyllable, and the sacred text of Brahme. A suppression of breath so explained by the ancient legislator, *Ya'jirywalcya*, consequently implies the following meditation: Om! earth! sky! heaven! middle region! place of births! mansion of the blessed! abode of truth!"

I am cautious in drawing conclusions, or putting a decided construction on the religious ceremonies of the Hindoos ; they may be more or less mystical than I am aware of, and many of their customs have possibly a different meaning from that which a superficial observer supposes. A circumstance which occurred at Dhuboy confirms my principle of not forming hasty decisions on dubious subjects. When I had been there two years, a rumour prevailed that I worshipped the devil, or at least that I performed ceremonies, and paid some kind of adoration to the destructive power. On tracing this extraordinary supposition to its source, it appeared to have originated with some of my own servants, natives of the place, who had not been conversant with Europeans. About that time General Goddard being engaged in a political negociation with Futty Sihng, paid him a visit at Brodera, accompanied by his staff officers and a considerable detachment from the Bengal army. On his march to Brodera he favoured me with a visit at Dhuboy, where I entertained him a few days in the best manner my retired situation permitted. We generally sat down sixteen at

table; as there are no turkeys in Guzerat, young pea-fowl were an excellent substitute, and often made a principal dish. The gizzard and other parts of the pea-fowl, as is frequently practised with the turkey, were sent from table to be broiled and seasoned with salt, pepper, and kian; thus improved, the savoury meat was returned hot to table with the additional appellation of the *devil;* each guest took a small piece to relish a glass of wine, as customary on such occasions, and possibly some cheerful toast was given, and passed round. The novelty of this ceremony in presence of my Dhuboy servants, who were strangers to our manners and customs, who neither understood the English language, nor asked for information from those who did, caused them to put a wrong construction upon an innocent practice; and in a city renowned for sanctity we were enrolled among the worshippers of the devil!

I have introduced this trifling anecdote as an instance of what a wrong judgment may be formed, and false conclusions drawn, by superficial observers on their travels, especially when ignorant of the language of those among whom they sojourn.

In describing Cambay six years before, during the campaign in Guzerat, I deplored its ruinous condition; it now presented a scene of desolation! The Nabob had continued his oppressions, and his subjects sought for protection and comfort under a milder government. Unmindful of the happiness of his people or the interest of his successor, the chief study of Mohman Caun was to procure money for the gratification of sensual pleasure, and the maintenance of the shadow of a Mogul court. The means of acquiring it gave him no concern. Thus his sovereignty comprised only a dilapidated capital, deserted villages, and a few impove-

rished subjects, who, notwithstanding his iron sceptre, were still attached to their native soil. Under such a government there is nothing to hope for; emigration can alone relieve the burden; but the measure of oppression must be full ere we bid adieu to our dii-penates, and the local joys of home; pleasures which memory loves to cherish. From these independent petty sovereigns there is no appeal; their tyranny knows no control: pathetically does a pious monarch lament their fate! "I considered all the oppressions that are done under the sun, and beheld the tears of such as were oppressed, and they had no comforter! and on the side of their oppressors there was power, but *they* had no comforter!"

When Akber filled the imperial throne, his ear was open to the petition of the meanest subject, and his time dedicated to the happiness of his extensive empire. Under that wise monarch there could be no oppression without redress; justice and clemency overshadowed the soubah, and his outstretched arms protected the most distant purgunna in his vast domain. In such an instance absolute monarchy may be deemed a blessing, particularly in Asia; but dreadful is unrestrained power in the hands of a cruel despot. For one Akber, Antoninus, or Trajan, how multiplied is the character of Nero, Tiberius, and Aurungzebe!

However tyrannical and oppressive over his unfortunate subjects, the nabob of Cambay was esteemed one of the politest sovereigns in India. He immediately sent one of his chopdars with his compliments and congratulations on our arrival at his capital, and presently after we received a visit from Mirza Mahomed Zumaun, the naib, or vizier, accompanied by several moguls and Persian noblemen. On the following evening Mirza Zumaun invited

us to an elegant supper, served up in the true Persian style. He received us at the outer gate, and conducted us through a small garden to the flat roof of the house, where we were introduced to several Persians and moguls of distinction. Here we enjoyed the evening breeze and a moonlight view of the gardens, and were amused by successive sets of dancing-girls and musicians, superior to any I had then seen in India.

It is well known that the Asiatics of either sex of any respectability never dance themselves. Throughout Hindostan, whether among the Hindoos, Mahomedans, or Parsees, the master of a feast sends for the public dancing-girls and musicians to entertain his guests; for himself, his family, or his company to do either would be quite inconsistent with propriety, and the gravity of character they generally preserve. Amidst the general joy on the annual opening of the aqueduct at Dhuboy, I have mentioned a sort of rural dance by other females, but this is very rare; in the lower classes of society it may be more common, although it has escaped my observation. An Indian of respectability could never consent to his wife or daughter dancing in public, nor can they reconcile the English country-dances to their ideas of female delicacy. I remember an amiable Hindoo at Bombay being taken to a veranda overlooking the assembly-room, where a number of ladies and gentlemen were going down a country dance; on his conductor asking how he liked the amusement, the mild Indian replied, "Master, I not quite understand this business, but in our caste we say 'if we place butter too near the fire, butter will melt.'" I have thought of this Hindoo when present at some particular waltzing in France and Germany.

During the entertainment of the "singing men and singing women" at the vizier's, the attendants frequently brought dried fruits, pistachio-nuts, and salted almonds, to improve the flavour of the coffee and sherbets, made from the juice of falsee, limes, and different fruits, presented in profusion and variety. Other servants stood near with punkahs and chouries, to cause a vibration in the air, and keep off the insects. The former may go under the general denomination of fans, however modified in shape. The latter are a sort of long pendant brush, composed of different materials; sometimes of peacock's feathers, or the beautiful plumage of the bird of paradise; some are of cusa grass, or the leaves of the palmyra tree. Those most esteemed for elegance and utility united, are formed from the tail of the katass cow. This animal is a native of Thibet, Cachimere, and some of the northern provinces of Hindostan. The beauty of these tails, or chouries, depends upon the whiteness, silkiness, and length of the hair, which is not taken off the tail, but remains on the stump, set in a handle of gold, silver, or enamel. Thus luxuriously seated, the Persians smoked their culleons and nargills, kept up a lively conversation, and displayed some taste in music, poetry, and painting.

At ten o'clock we descended from the terrace to the saloon prepared for supper, which was covered with rich carpets, cushions, and pillows of various kinds, illuminated from cut-glass chandeliers, and ornamented with Persian paintings, representing the youths and damsels of Iran in voluptuous indulgence, amid a profusion of fruit, flowers, ices, and perfumes. This room, supported only by pillars, opened on every side to a flower garden of roses, jasmin, mogrees, and double tuberoses, with pomegranates and

taller plants, surrounding small canals and fountains playing with delightful effect. The English gentlemen were seated at a table in the upper part of the saloon, covered in the European manner. The other guests, according to oriental custom, were placed in two rows on the carpet, and the supper served between them on a small elevation. The repast consisted of great variety, in pilaus, curries, kebats, and other savoury dishes, composed of, or intended to be mixed with rice, which is the principal grain eaten by the higher ranks throughout Hindostan. Some of the pilaus appeared to me extremely curious, and were the first I had seen at any oriental entertainment. The vizier asked me to partake of venison, pea-fowl, kid, poultry, and game. Not seeing any on the table, I hesitated in my choice, and was then informed that the different dishes of rice, in various colours, were flavoured with the gravy, or rather essence of all those diversities. An antelope, two or three peacocks, or a dozen partridges, were stewed down into a strong gravy, to flavour as many dishes of rice, which having sufficiently imbibed the essence of the animals, were placed before the fire until every grain was separate, and then served on the table. The liquors offered to the guests were only water and a variety of sherbets. Neither the Persians nor Moguls, in defiance of the precepts of the koran, often object to wine or much stronger liquors in private.

Cambay at this time contained several noble Persian families, who left their country fifty years before, after Shah Hussein had been murdered by Meer Mahmud, and the Afghans usurped the sovereignty; of others who abandoned that unhappy kingdom some years afterwards, when Nadir Shah seized the throne, and destroyed the royal line of Seffies; and of several more who accompanied that

usurper in his march to Delhi, and left him after the conquest to settle in various parts of the Mogul empire with their share of the plunder.

The wealthy Persian emigrants generally bring with them pearls, diamonds, and other jewels to a large amount. They lie in a small compass, and are the most certain means of securing a competency in a foreign country. I saw a valuable assortment of precious stones at Cambay, belonging to a Persian nobleman, intended for sale; among them was a diamond of the first water, shaped like a prism, weighing an hundred and seventeen carats, and estimated at twenty-five thousand pounds. The proprietor informed me of a diamond then in the royal treasury at Ispahan, which weighed two hundred and sixty-four carats, and was valued at four hundred and twenty thousand pounds. This is probably the same stone mentioned by Tavernier, at that time in possession of the Mogul emperor, which weighed two hundred and seventy-nine carats, and its value was estimated at half a million sterling. The variation in the weight and price in a gem of such magnitude, may be easily allowed between a Persian and European traveller. This imperial diamond is a brilliant of beautiful shape, called by way of eminence *Kooi Toor*, " the Hill of Lustre," alluding to Mount Sinai, in Arabia, where God appeared in glory to Moses. Another diamond of a flat surface, nearly as valuable as the former, is denominated *Doriainoor*, " the Ocean of Lustre." These magnificent jewels formed part of Nadir Shah's plunder at Delhi in 1739; when the riches he carried off exceeded seventy millions sterling. The most superb article of this imperial spoil was the *Tuckt-Taoos*, or peacock-throne, in which the expanded tail of the peacock, in

its natural size, was imitated in jewellery, composed of the most costly diamonds, rubies, emeralds, sapphires, topazes, and amethysts, producing a wonderful effect. This throne was valued at ten crore of rupees, upwards of twelve millions sterling. After the assassination of Nadir Shah this plunder was transported into various countries, and since the late revolutions in Persia has been more widely dispersed.

Jewels have been always held in high estimation; sacred and profane writers extol their beauty and value; the Romans, under their luxurious emperors, carried this extravagant superfluity to the utmost prodigality. Diamonds with them do not appear to have been in so much request as pearls, of which they possessed some immensely valuable: one, presented by Julius Cæsar to Servilia, the mother of Brutus, cost him forty-eight thousand pounds sterling. The celebrated pearl ear-rings of Cleopatra were valued at one hundred and sixty thousand pounds.

In the oppressed and impoverished city of Cambay, at the time I last saw it, there was no demand for jewels, nor any other valuable commodity; they were generally sent to Surat, Bombay, or China, where they found a ready sale. The magnificent prismatic diamond I have just mentioned, was lost in a dreadful storm a few months afterwards at Surat bar, where the ship in which it was freighted, with a number of other vessels, foundered at their anchors. Cambay in former times, when the sea flowed near its walls, was the grand emporium of Guzerat, and the resort of merchants from every quarter of the globe. Queen Elizabeth, the first English monarch who encouraged the Indian trade, sent out three persons in 1583, with letters to the sovereigns of China and Cam-

bay. This implies that the latter was at that time a place of great commercial notoriety. In the year 1600 this wise monarch granted the first charter to the East India Company, by which they became the exclusive traders to the East Indies, with a capital of seventy-two thousand pounds.

A very few years after Queen Elizabeth's embassy, Cæsar Fredericke, a merchant of Venice, visited this country, and in his travels, which were printed in London in 1598, this entertaining writer thus describes the trade of Cambay: "No great ships can go thither by reason of the shallowness of the water, but they carry on the trade in small barks, which can sail in all parts of the gulph. The principal city in Cambaia is called Amadaur, or Ahmadabad; it is a very great city, and very populous; and for a city of the gentiles it is very well made, and builded with fair houses, and large streets. Cambay is also a very fair city, and if I had not seen it I could not have believed that there should have been such a trade as there is; for in the time of every new and full moon the small barks come in and go out, laden with all sorts of spices, with silk of China, with sandal, with elephants' teeth, velvets of Vercini, great quantity of pannina, which cometh from Mecca, with chickinos, which be pieces of gold worth seven shillings, with money, and with divers sorts of other merchandize. Also these barks lade out an infinite quantity of cloth stamped and painted, with a great deal of indigo, dried ginger, and conserved myrabolans dry and candied, boraso in paste, great store of sugar, great quantity of cotton, abundance of opium, asafœtida, puchio, and many other sorts of drugs; turbants made in Diu, great stones like to cornelians, granites, agates, diaspry, calcedony, hematist, and some other

kind of natural diamonds. During the time I dwelt in Cambay I saw many marvellous things; and in that time the city was in great calamity and scarceness, so that I have seen the men of the country, who were gentiles, take their children, their sons and their daughters, and have desired the Portugals to buy them; and I have seen them sold for eight or ten lorines a-piece, which may be of our money from ten to thirteen shillings sterling."

Cambay continued a flourishing commercial city long after the above period; the Mogul princes who then reigned encouraged agriculture, manufactures, and trade. It gradually declined during the convulsions of the empire in the eighteenth century, and the cruel and oppressive government of Mohman Caun, the then reigning nabob, had completed its ruin. He prided himself on being an excellent Persian scholar, but I should suppose he had never read the Tears of Khorassan, one of the most beautiful poems in that language, from which I have extracted a few stanzas applicable to the present subject, translated by Captain W. Kirkpatrick.

" Say, dost thou know what wild confusion reigns
" Throughout Cambaia's desolated plains,
" And how her sons are drown'd in seas of tears?
" Say, dost thou know, of all her ancient boast,
" And glorious sights that spread her fame the most,
" No trace or mournful vestige now appears?

" Here upstart slaves, to fame and worth unknown,
" Rear their proud crests, and in imperious tone,
" Command the man whose virtues all revere:
" Here avarice scoffs at virtue in distress,
" And spurns the hand which grateful thousands bless,—
" O hard reverse! and fate, too—too severe!

"View where sage elders, prostrate at the door
"Of some low wretch, in vain relief implore;
"In vain their anguish and their wrongs disclose:
"Behold the sons of rank debauchery bind
"The holy anchorite, by heaven resign'd,
"A prey to dungeons, and to sharpest woes.

"Is there, where Ruin reigns in dreadful state,
"Whom fortune smiles on, or whom joys await?—
"'Tis yonder corse descending to the tomb;
"Is there a spotless female to be found,
"Where deeds of diabolic lust abound?—
"'Tis yonder infant issuing from the womb.

"—O thou, descended from a noble race!
"By him who gave the crown thy brows to grace;
"Who gave, t'adorn the minted ore, thy name:
"By him, by heaven's just King, we thee conjure,
"To loose our chains,—our painful wounds to cure;—
"So shall a grateful world thy praise proclaim."

Dr. Robertson has drawn a beautiful picture of an oriental sovereign: but I fear the original is only to be found in Utopian climes. I confess I never met with such a character in my travels; nor can I find one among those of more extensive research in the courts of Asiatic princes, modern as that amiable writer thus describes his virtuous monarch. "A Hindoo rajah, as I have been informed by persons well acquainted with the state of India, resembles more a father presiding in a numerous family of his own children, than a sovereign ruling over inferiors, subject to his dominion. He endeavours to secure their happiness with vigilant solicitude; they are attached to him with the most tender affection, and inviolable fidelity."

I am sorry to dissent from this celebrated historian, and the well-informed persons from whom he obtained the information; but so far from being able to confirm such pleasing characteristics; I must, on the contrary, affirm that I never met with such a pattern of royal virtue, nor with such grateful and amiable subjects, in my intercourse with the inhabitants of India. That the Hindoo rajahs in the time of Dushmanta, Vicramaditya, and other coeval princes, recorded in the early brahmin chronicles, might possess those benevolent attributes, I do not deny. We have every reason to believe those patriarchal rajahs were the fathers of their people; but from my own knowledge of modern Hindoo chieftains by whom I was surrounded at Dhuboy, of the Mahratta peshwa and his nobles with whom I was long encamped, of the king of Travencore, and of other princes with whom I was acquainted, I cannot draw so favourable a conclusion. I am willing to believe there are exceptions: wherever I have found them, I felt a pleasure in noticing their comparative excellence, whether Hindoos or Mahomedans.

I have frequently mentioned the wild-beasts in Guzerat: during our nocturnal encampments on this journey, our attendants, who, probably actuated by their fears, preferred sleeping in the towns, were constantly telling us of the number and ferocity of the tigers in that part of Guzerat, but we were never molested; although, not long before, in travelling by torch light, with two English ladies, and a large party, from Dhuboy towards the Nerbudda, a royal tiger sprung among my cavalry, overthrew one of the riders, and killed his horse by the blow. The last of the species which I destroyed in the Dhuboy purgunna was a leopard,

most beautifully spotted; which weighed about two hundred and fifty pounds; his strength and ferocity equalled his size, and had long rendered him a terror to the villages near his haunts.

So great is the dread of beasts of prey in the villages on the Sabermatty river, at the head of the Gulph of Cambay, that the inhabitants carefully collect all their cattle within the mud walls with which every village is encircled, at the close of day; after which all egress is avoided; and even the dogs, instinctively conscious of the perils by which they are surrounded, keep within the protection of the walls.

It is certainly dangerous to travel in the jungles, or Indian forests, after sun-set, when the savage beasts leave their haunts, and prowl abroad for prey: but as they retire to their dens at the approach of dawn, we do not often hear of accidents. They reign by night, and claim their wild domain: the day belongs to man. Equally beautiful as just is that passage in the royal psalmist, "Thou makest darkness, and it is night, wherein all the beasts of the forest come forth, and the lions roar after their prey. The sun ariseth, and they gather themselves together, and lay them down in their dens. Man goeth forth unto his work and to his labour until the evening. O Lord! how manifold are thy works; in wisdom hast thou made them all!"

Sir Charles Malet, then president at Cambay, shewed me the skin of a lioness which had been recently found with some of her whelps, in a forest near the river Sabermatty, not many miles from Cambay. The existence of lions in this part of India had been hitherto unknown to Europeans. The northern provinces, bordering upon Persia, abounded with those animals, and afforded noble

sport to the imperial princes in their hunting parties from Delhi and Agra.

As the discovery of lions in Guzerat was perfectly novel, Sir Charles indulged me with an extract from his itinerary, when, in consequence of such an intimation, he went with a party of Moguls and Persians to the forest of Durlee, about twenty miles to the northward of Cambay, two months before our arrival. This extract presents a very interesting scene; which I shall not clothe in any other language than his own, as it is written with all the zest and warmth of feeling, occasioned by immediate impressions, which no correctness of style or studied expressions can give in a subsequent recollection.

Durlee, 8th of March 1781.

"Having killed some elks and antelopes, without meeting with any tigers, we proceeded this morning to Coora, in a wilder part of the country, where we were more likely to meet with those animals. As we advanced into the wood in pursuit of our game, we saw in one of its thickest glooms a number of large dead serpents; some entirely devoured, except their skins; some half eaten, and others apparently just killed; we also observed the bones of various animals strewed thick all about this spot. On expressing my surprise at this appearance, the country people assured me it was a proof of our being very near the haunt of these savage beasts; and mutual exhortations followed to be steady and circumspect; in fact, in a few paces we discovered, in the soft grass and moss, the almost perfect figures of several animals, of various sizes, who had been reposing there; and the carnivorous

smells which then assailed us, and the numerous and recent impressions of the feet of beasts of prey, left us no room to doubt of the evidence which I had just received of this being the gloomy residence of the savage race who had been roused by our approach.

"Having watched for two nights in vain, on the third evening we tied lures of goats and asses under the trees, in three different places, and at each of these stations three marksmen, including myself, watched in a tree. About midnight, four animals, which we imagined to be tigers, but afterwards discovered to be lions, having at some distance taken a momentary survey of the goat tied at one of the posts, rushed furiously on it; and the largest of them seizing it by the neck, with one shake broke the bone, and the animal was instantly deprived of life. The lion then made an effort to carry off his prey, which being purposely bound with strong cords he failed in the attempt. At that instant two of the marksmen posted with me in the tree fired and wounded him; but he suffered only a momentary stupefaction, for immediately recovering, he quitted the slain goat and retired. One of a smaller size instantly came forward and seized the goat, when the third marksman fired, and wounded him; he also directly retired; but, by the light of the moon, we perceived that they both retreated with difficulty.

"On assembling the next morning from our respective posts, we tracked the lions to some distance, by the blood; which having at length lost, I resolved to penetrate into the depth of their haunts. For this purpose I sent for the people of the nearest village, and with some difficulty prevailed upon them to shew me the place

of their retreat. I then accompanied them, with eight musketeers, a few miles further, to an almost impenetrable jungle, or thicket, extending for several miles. Soon after entering this dismal scene, our people from different quarters gave the alarm; but nothing appearing within shot, we proceeded further into the gloomy forest, which was impervious to the sun's rays, and so entangled with underwood, that we were obliged frequently to proceed upon our hands and knees. In a short time the villagers discovered and announced the wounded lions; and we were instantly saluted by a most tremendous roar, and a frightful rushing through the thicket; which, with the gleam of sabres, the shouts of the party, and the thick darkness, formed an awful and terrific scene. The animals retreating, we followed, until we arrived at a part of the wood absolutely impenetrable. Thus stopped, we fired several shot at those places where we observed the birds to appear in consternation, but without effect. I then, with three or four of the stoutest of my companions, endeavoured to push forwards, when our progress was again impeded by a terrific growling, at a very small distance; but so complicated was the jungle, and so dark the atmosphere, that we could not see our object, nor, had we been able to discover it, could we either have presented our pieces or used our sabres: thus circumstanced, we retired, and fell upon the expedient of collecting the buffaloes from the neighbouring fields, and driving them forcibly into this fastness; which the buffaloes had no sooner entered than they were saluted by such a horrid roar, as put them most precipitately to flight, and our game, roused by the charge, changed its situation; which was observed, and taken immediate advantage of: for, on proceeding to the spot,

which was somewhat more open, and consequently more favourable to the use of our arms, I advanced within a very few paces, and lodged a brace of balls in his heart.

"My fire was seconded by a volley from the other musketeers; and the noise of their pieces was succeeded by something, which could neither be styled roaring nor groaning, but a frightful mixture of both. Not knowing that our balls had effectually removed every cause of apprehension, and that this vociferation was the symptom of expiration, I concluded that the creature was now thoroughly enraged, and meditating vengeance; with this idea, I quitted my piece, and betook myself to my sabre; but after a short pause, observing the rustling in the thicket to cease, and the vociferation to grow fainter, I advanced to the spot where the animal lay; and one of my people having laid open three of his ribs by the stroke of a sword, I with another nearly severed his head from his body: and then dragging him from his retreat, I hauled him, amidst the acclamations and congratulations of the villagers, to my tents, where I arrived at noon, having spent six hours in rousing, pursuing, and killing our game; which in that interval had received three balls, exclusive of the wound inflicted on the preceding night.

"This beast was called by the country people oontia-baug, or camel-tiger, and is by them esteemed to be the firercest and most powerful of that race. His colour was that of a camel, verging to yellow, but without spots or stripes; not high in stature, but powerfully massive, with a head and foreparts of admirable size and strength. He was killed near the village of Coora, on the banks of the Sabermatty, fifteen coss from Cambay.

"Nearly five quarts of oil were extracted from this animal, which the peasants of that country consider to be very efficacious in rheumatic complaints, and it is used externally in those and some other disorders. The oil of the lion was extracted by stewing the flesh, when cut up, with a quantity of spices: the meat was white, and of a delicate appearance, and was eaten by the waugrees, or hunters, who extracted the oil."

We left Cambay at day-break on the 2d of May, and in three hours reached the village of Sujeutra, fifteen miles distant; where we pitched our tents, and spent the sultry hours in a tamarind grove, near a spacious lake; indeed all the towns and villages we saw, had those valuable reservoirs: Abul Fazil mentions an ancient city of Guzerat, called Beernagur, that contained three hundred Hindoo temples, each of which had a tank of water. He also describes the country two hundred years ago exactly as it is at the present day, when the abundance of mangoes and other fruit trees gave it the appearance of a perfect garden; in the midst of which stands the rich and populous village of Sujeutra, in the Pitlad purgunna, surrounded by extensive fields, highly cultivated, and planted with rows of mangoes, tamarinds, and khirneys, all large and shady fruit trees. Sujeutra belongs to a set of dancing-girls, who frequently have lands and villages assigned them by the princes of Hindostan.

When the sun declined, we renewed our journey, over a broad sandy road, very heavy for the cattle and palanquin bearers. Travelling by moonlight, we arrived at a late hour at Kairah, a considerable fortified town belonging to the Brodera chieftain, situated on an eminence, near the confluence of two small rivers, called the

Wartruc and Serrie; we forded the latter, and slept in our palanquins on the banks of the Wartruc.

The next morning we rose with the dawn, and commenced our last day's journey to Ahmed-abad, through a delightful part of Guzerat; but, although approaching the capital, we found it not so well cultivated as many other districts, occasioned by being very much infested by the Coolies and Cotties. The villages are large and populous, and the houses built of bricks in frames of timber. Small scattered hamlets would be unsafe in a district where the peasants are obliged to unite in considerable force to defend themselves against the banditti. The land contiguous to the villages was well cultivated, and planted with fruit trees. The fields in Guzerat, except for very particular crops, do not require much manure; what they use is chiefly the dung of animals, and the refuse of the cow-houses; at Bombay, and on many parts of the Malabar coast, they manure the land with rotten fish, blubber, and other putrid substances, offensive and unwholesome: it has been forbid in Bombay. A very good substitute, and indeed a most excellent manure, is the remains of the cocoa-nut after the oil has been expressed from it; this also constitutes a nutritious food for oxen, but gives the milk of the cows an unpleasant taste. Cow-dung is used for so many purposes by the Hindoos, especially by the religious brahmins, that very little of it goes for manure; their houses and humbler dewals are covered with, and purified by it: when perfectly dry, it has a neater appearance than we should suppose. In places where wood is scarce, the cow-dung is made up into cakes, and dried for fuel, which the brahmins and Hindoos of rank prefer to any other.

The uncultivated tracts in Guzerat are woody, and abound with tigers, leopards, hyenas, wolves, wild-hogs, and a variety of deer, elks, and antelopes, with those large brilliant eyes, so highly extolled in oriental poetry. The Persian and Arabian poets are extremely fond of alluding to these beautiful eyes, which, according to lady Wortley Montague's translation, "are black and lovely, but wild and disdainful as those of the stag:" this idea extends from the gazelle of Arabia to the rein-deer of Lapland, as we find in the songs of those northern regions. In the Song of songs, the enraptured monarch seems to prefer the "doves' eyes, which ravished his heart, as the eyes of doves by the rivers of waters, washed with milk, and fitly set within the locks." But the gazelle, or antelope, is most probably alluded to by his enamoured princess, when she says, her beloved "cometh leaping over the mountains, and skipping upon the hills; like a roe, or a young hart he looketh forth at the windows, shewing himself through the lattice."

The more I saw of Guzerat, the more I admired its fertility and beauty: to both of which three noble rivers, the Taptee, the Nerbudda, and the Myhi, largely contribute; while the Sabermatty and many smaller streams, water its luxuriant plains. In the reign of Akbar the soubah of Guzerat contained nine sircars, or large districts, which were subdivided into one hundred and ninety-eight purgunnas, of which thirteen were sea-ports. The amount of revenue was forty-three crore, sixty-eight lacks, 2,301 dams, together with one lack, 62,628 dams of port duties; the whole being equivalent to sicca rupees 10,96,123,3,11. The measured lands in Guzerat exceeded one crore and sixty-nine

lacks of beegahs, and it then mained 67,375 cavalry, and 8900 infantry.

I conclude this account of Guzerat, taken from the Ayeen Akbery, with a short extract from Abul Fazel's description of Hindostan in general. "The whole extent of this vast empire is unequalled for the excellency of its waters, salubrity of air, mildness of climate, and the temperate constitutions of the natives. Every part is cultivated and full of inhabitants, so that you cannot travel the distance of a coss without seeing towns and villages, and meeting with good water. Even in the depth of winter the earth and trees are covered with verdure; and in the rainy season the air is so delightfully pleasant, that it gives youthful vigour to old age."

"In the fortieth year of the reign of Akber, the imperial dominions consisted of one hundred and five sircars, or provinces, subdivided into two thousand seven hundred and thirty-seven koubahs or townships; the revenue of which he settled at sicca rupees, 9,0743881, 2, 5. The empire was then parcelled out into twelve grand divisions or soubahs, each of which was committed to the care of a soubahdar or viceroy; to which the sovereign of the world was pleased to add three more, which he had obtained by conquest, thus increasing the number to fifteen."

Such was the empire of Akber, and in all his vast domain no part in beauty and fertility exceeded the province of Guzerat, which still abounds with large commercial cities, the capitals of districts which, since the dismemberment of the Mogul empire, have become independent. Populous villages and a well-cultivated country enrich most of the purgunnas with crops of wheat, rice,

barley, and abundance of inferior grain; while cotton, indigo, and tobacco, amply repay the little trouble they occasion the farmer, by a ready sale at foreign markets.

Nature seems also to be peculiarly favourable to the animal tribes in Guzerat: the oxen are esteemed the finest in India; they are perfectly white, with black horns, a skin delicately soft, and eyes rivalling those of the antelope in brilliant lustre. The oxen reared in the northern part of the province are noble animals, superior in strength, size, and docility; some of them travel with a hackery from thirty to forty miles a day, and are yoked to the carriages of the wealthy Hindoos in distant parts of India. I had a very fine pair of these white oxen, in spirit, size, and beauty, equal to most I ever saw in Guzerat; and in sweetness of temper and gentleness of manners nearly approaching the elephant formerly described in Ragobah's campaign. With these animals I travelled many thousand miles in the delightful province of Guzerat. The Ayeen Akbery mentions some of these oxen valued at one hundred gold mohurs the pair, a sum nearly equal to two hundred pounds sterling; the common price at that period was from ten to twenty mohurs a pair; while at the same time the usual price of a good cow, yielding daily twenty quarts of milk, was only ten rupees, or twenty-five shillings, in the beast-market at Delhi. A smaller breed of these animals is employed in the province in agriculture, and the transportation of merchandize. There is also a variety of inferior in size, strength, and value, reared in different parts of Guzerat for the same purposes; these are of all colours, and with the usual characteristics of the species in other parts of Hindostan.

Horses in India are seldom employed for the pack or draft; a great number are bred in different parts of Guzerat to supply the cavalry of the respective governments; those of Cutch and Cottyawar are in high estimation, but the best horses are brought to India from Arabia, Persia, and Tartary; from the two former the trading vessels sometimes import mules of a large size, which are very serviceable animals, and far more hardy than the fine breed of horses brought from the same country. Many horses of various descriptions are bred in the Deckan and the northern provinces of Hindostan, all of which are sure to find purchasers at the courts of princes, and especially in the Mahratta armies. The horses of Thibet are a peculiar race, generally pied, not exceeding the English galloways in size, natural amblers, and much valued as pads.

Such were the animal and vegetable productions of the country through which we were now travelling. If the government of Mohman Caun, nabob of Cambay, was discouraging and oppressive, I am sorry to say there was no amelioration for the peasantry when we left his purgunna and entered the Mahratta dominions. Whether the districts were under the immediate government of delegates from the peshwa at Poonah, or ruled by different branches of the Guicawar sovereigns in Guzerat, the evils of despotism every where prevailed; the rapacity of venal and corrupt zemindars was felt in every village, and left the wretched inhabitants no choice of masters. Little as the poor ryot of India knows of a comfortable home, that little is most cruelly infringed by rapacious harpies of every description.

The nearer we approached the capital the more we traced the former splendor and magnificence of the moguls: ruined palaces,

gardens, and mausoleums, which once adorned the country, now add a striking and melancholy feature to its desolation; these are conspicuous in every village in the campagna of Ahmedabad, and form a striking contrast to the mud cottages and thatched hovels of the Mahrattah peasantry.

On our arrival at Betwah, or Puttowah, which we were told had once formed a part of the suburbs of Ahmedabad (but was now a detached village five miles from the city walls), we were conducted to a large square, containing several mahomedan tombs and grand mausoleums; some were of white marble, others of stone, covered with the finest stucco, white as alabaster, and exquisitely polished. The domes were supported by elegant columns, their concaves richly ornamented, and the tessellated marble pavement beautifully arranged, vied with those of ancient Rome in the museum at Portici; the tracery in the windows resembled the Gothic specimens in European cathedrals; and the small cupolas which cover each tomb are of fine marble, curiously inlaid with fruit and flowers, in festoons of ivory, mother-of-pearl, cornelians, onyxes, and precious stones, as neat as in European snuff-boxes. The small tombs in the centre of the building are adorned with palls of gold and silver stuff, strewed with jessamin and mogrees, and hung round with ostriches' eggs and lamps, which are kept continually burning by the fakeers and dervises maintained there for that purpose.

Near most of the mahomedan cities in Asia are these extensive cemeteries (none being allowed within the walls) containing a number of beautiful temples, sometimes supported by pillars and open

on all sides, at others closed like a sepulchral chamber, with only one door; each has a marble tomb in the centre, under which is deposited the body of the deceased. These burying-grounds frequently afford shelter to the weary traveller when overtaken by the night, and at a loss for better accommodation; and their recesses are also a hiding-place for thieves and murderers, who sally out from thence to commit their nocturnal depredations. Thus we read in scripture of demoniacs dwelling among the tombs in Judea; they are likewise the scene of many adventures in the Persian and Arabian tales.

Except among the Parsees, whom I have mentioned as the followers of Zoroaster, there seems to prevail throughout India the greatest respect and affectionate veneration for the dead. The pious attentions of the mahomedans, from the magnificent mausoleum of Taje Mahal, the crown of the seraglio at Agra, to the humblest grave strewed with flowers in the village cemetery, confirm this pleasing truth; and although the Hindoos in general, after burning the body of the deceased, and scattering the ashes into the air, do not erect a monument or a cenotaph in any particular spot, yet the parent lives in the memory of his children, and the husband in that of his wife, if she survive him. Numerous annual ceremonies are enjoined, and most affectionately performed by the Hindoos to the manes of their ancestors. Mr. Wilkins, in a note upon the Heetopades, informs us, that a Hindoo's hope of happiness after death depends upon his having a son to perform the offering of the consecrated cake, and other ceremonies, by which he expects that his soul will be released from the torments of Naraka. And we find that Absalom in his lifetime reared up for himself a pillar in

the king's dale, because he had no son to keep his name in remembrance.

"Mark the sad rose, once summer's darling pride,
"That threw its blooming odours far and wide,
"Now all its bright, its blushing honours past;
"Too dazzling fair, alas! and sweet to last!

"But yet, though scatter'd be each silken leaf,
"By cruel Time, that sad despoiling thief,
"Still from those leaves exhales a rich perfume;
"Still they are sweet, though they have ceas'd to bloom!
"So lov'd remembrances of joys long fled
"O'er the sad heart their soothing influence shed:
"While in the breast is sav'd each wither'd leaf
"Of past delight,—to soothe its present grief!" By a young Lady.

I was delighted with the mausoleums at Betwah, but the Mullahs assured me they were inferior to those at Agra and Delhi, where imperial wealth and magnificence had united to decorate the tombs of the Mogul princes and their favourite sultanas. The finest marbles that could be procured were the most common materials in these superb buildings; for the ornamental parts consisting of the most elegant borders in a sort of arabesque pattern, with festoons of fruit and flowers in their natural colours, were composed entirely of agates, cornelians, turquoise, lapis-lazuli, and other valuable gems, rivalling the most admired specimens of the inlaid marbles at Florence, where I compared the charming originals on the tombs of the Medici, with some beautiful drawings of the Faje Mahal at Agra, belonging to an English lady in Tuscany, who had visited the magnificent shrine at Agra. How forcibly do these remind us of the truth and beauty of the metaphorical

language in the sacred page, promising sublime and spiritual joys under allusions from these subjects in oriental palaces! In the prophetical books of the Old Testament it is said, "I will make thy windows of agates, and thy gates of carbuncles, and all thy borders of pleasant stones." In the figurative descriptions of the New Testament we find the same ideas: "Her light was like unto a stone most precious, even like a jasper stone, clear as crystal: the wall was of jasper, and the foundations were garnished with the sapphire, the emerald, the chalcedony, the sardonyx, the chrysolite, the beryl, the topaz, the amethyst, and all manner of precious stones."

From Petwah we travelled over a tract of land, once filled with crowded streets and populous mansions, now a cultivated plain, covered with trees and verdure, unless where a falling mosque or mouldering palace reminded us of its former state. These ruins increased as we drew nearer the city, until at length we travelled through acres of desolation. An universal silence reigned; nothing indicated our approach to a capital, nor did we meet with "one sad historian of the mournful plain," without the gates of Almedabad!

Et seges est ubi Troja fuit. OVID.

or rather let me quote a similar scene in the expressive language of the prophetical writings, of a city still more magnificent than either Troy or the capital of Guzerat, that it should become a heap of ruins, a dwelling-place for dragons, an astonishment and a hissing, without an inhabitant; the wild beasts of the desert should be there, and the houses full of doleful creatures; the owls should

dwell in their habitations, and the satyrs dance in their pleasant places. Such is now the desolation round the circumscribed walls of Ahmedabad; it is literally the resort of tigers, hyenas, and jackals; the abode of monkeys, guanas, serpents, and noxious reptiles!

> "The *spider* holds the veil in the palace of Cæsar;
> "The *owl* stands sentinel on the watch-towers of Afrasiab!" SADY.

On perusing this letter in manuscript, Sir Charles Malet confirmed the preceding desolation of Ahmedabad by a circumstance during his encampment near the city of Aurungabad, where, among the ruins of the imperial palace, he saw a timid hare start from the spot where once stood the throne of Aurungzebe, who gave his name to the city. The following account of this interesting visit is transcribed from his journal:

"MAY 31, 1794.—This morning we made another excursion from our encampment to view the city of Aurungabad and its environs. We went first to the palace, which was built by Aurungzebe at the same time as the city; and in the multiplicity and extent of its offices and apartments, exhibits a strong proof of the magnificence of that great but bigotted monarch, and of the melancholy mutability of human grandeur; for in the short space of ninety years the splendid remains of this princely structure are mouldering into dust, and some parts quite obliterated!

"We first entered by a lofty gateway into a vast area called the Jellougah, or the place where the imperial guards paraded; the gates here, as in most other oriental palaces and cities, being intended for the admission of state elephants, with the exalted hou-

dar on their backs, are on a large scale, and add much to the general grandeur. From the Jellougah we ascended a noble flight of steps into another spacious court, on the western side of which was the duan aum, or public hall of audience, and opposite to it the nobut khani, or music-gallery. On approaching the hall of audience, a timid hare started from the spot where stood the musnud of Aurungzebe; that throne where the proudest monarch in the world was seated in all his glory! The throne was elevated in the most conspicuous part of this superb hall; the hall itself was filled with ameers of the first distinction, and the spacious court crowded with haughty warriors and other nobles, while the air echoed with the swelling notes from the nobat khani, and the voices of the chopdars and heralds loudly proclaiming, "May the king of the world live for ever!" From that throne, which the proudest nobles then approached with awe and palpitation, now sprang forth a terrified little hare!"

This is followed by an excellent description of the Taje Mahal, the celebrated mausoleum at Agra, already mentioned, which city then belonging to the Mahrattas, this spot was appropriated for the accommodation of the English embassy.

"On approaching the famous city of Agra, or Akber-abad, the most melancholy remains of former grandeur presented themselves on all sides; mosques, palaces, gardens, caravansaries, and mausoleums, mingled in one general ruin! On entering the gate of the city, at which there was no guard, I proceeded through the quarter called Momtazabad, over a chaos of desolation for about two miles, to *Taje Mahl, the gem or diadem of the seraglio*, which was the place allotted by *Mhadajee Sindia*, the Mahratta chieftain, for

my accommodation. This grand mausoleum, which stands due north and south, on the southern bank of the river Jumna, was built by command of the emperor Shah Jehan for the interment of his favourite sultana *Momtaz mehl*, or *Montazal Zumani*, the "*Pre-eminent in the seraglio*, or *Paragon of the age;*" and at his death his remains were also here deposited, by order of his son Aurungzebe.

"This building, in point of design and execution, is one of the most extensive, elegant, commodious, and perfect works that was ever undertaken and finished by one man. To this celebrated architect the emperor Shah Jehan gave the title of *Zerreer Dust*, or *Jewel-handed*, to distinguish him from all other artists. This extraordinary man, knowing the impatience of the emperor, and the peculiar situation of the intended structure on the precarious banks of the river, after laying a strong foundation, secreted himself for twelve months, nor could the strictest search by imperial mandate discover his retreat. At the expiration of that period, he voluntarily appeared in the hall of audience, and throwing himself on the emperor's clemency, declared that he had absconded from the fear of being urged by his majesty to proceed with the superstructure before he had sufficiently proved the solidity of the foundation; of this being now perfectly satisfied, he was ready to fulfil the imperial command.

"The astonishing art and niceness of the masonry has hitherto admirably withstood the devastations of time; nor has a succession of barbarous and predatory invaders yet dared to violate the sanctity and beauty of this wonderful fabric. It is composed of two large squares; the outer one intended for the accommodation of travellers, and the convenience of the inferior officers attached to

it; the inner court, which is entered through large gates of brass under a stupendous dome, forms a beautiful garden, with a profusion of fountains, surrounded by magnificent buildings for recreation and devotion. At the north end, close to the bank of the Jumna is the grand dome, under which the royal remains are deposited. It is built entirely of pure white marble, on an immense square platform of the same material, having a lofty minaret of equal beauty at every corner. On each side, and behind the imperial mausoleum, is a suit of elegant apartments also of white marble, highly decorated with coloured stones. The tombs and other principal parts of this vast fabric are inlaid with wreaths of flowers and foliage in their natural colours, entirely composed of cornelians, onyxes, verd-antique, lapis-lazuli, and every variety of agates, so admirably finished as to have rather the appearance of an ivory model set with jewels, just delivered from the artist's hand, than an edifice which has withstood the inclemency of the elements an hundred and forty-seven years."

Sir Charles adds the following short account, extracted from an authentic mahomedan chronologist, viz. "This year being the sixteenth of his majesty's reign, he attended in person the ceremonies of the anniversary of the death of the nabob Meh'ddlea, 'Montaz Mehl,' and distributed large sums in alms. The meeting was held in the magnificent mausoleum which was finished this year, having been twelve years in building, at the expense of fifty lacks of rupees; its chokies, serais, and various offices, formed a grand city which went by the name of Montazabad. Thirty villages from the dependencies of *Akberabad* and *Neiggarchund*, whose produce was rated at four lacks of *damms*, and whose income

amounted to one lack of rupees per annum, were made wukf, and appropriated to the use of the mausoleum. The produce of the shops, bazars, and serais, amounted to an equal sum, so that there was a yearly revenue of two lacks of rupees allotted for the necessary repairs of the building, for the salaries of the various offices attached to it, and for charitable distributions; the surplus, if any remained, was lodged in the treasury of the mausoleum."

Agra, 1785. C. W. M.

Annexed is an abstract of the expenses in building the magnificent structure mentioned above, selected from a very full account in the Asiatic Miscellany, which not only differs materially in the total amount expended upon this immense undertaking, but also of the time employed in its construction, which it expressly says was commenced in the fifth year of the reign of the emperor Shah Jehan, and the whole completed in sixteen years, four months, and twenty-one days.

	Rupees.		
Expense of the mosque, with the pavement, the fountain, and spiral ornaments	8,25,811	7	0
The sepulchre with the four meenars, the terrace, the pavement in front, and the spiral ornaments	51,77,979	7	9
Tomb of Shah Jehan, of marble, inlaid with precious stones	29,190	0	0
Tomb of Mumtazal Zumani, of marble, inlaid with precious stones	26,620	0	0
Marble railing, with the inlaid work, and doors of agate	68,895	2	6
A pair of silver doors for the glass room	5,472	8	3
Sandal-wood doors, brass gates, and chains to the meenars and dome	8,154	3	0
The Jumaut khanah, with the terrace, the fountain and spiral ornaments	8,24,625	6	6
The towers, piazzas, public walks, marble fountains, and large brass gates	18,85,032	6	0
The jilaw khaneh, or court, with the bazars, reservoirs, warehouses, wells, &c.	74,103	14	0
Wages of the masons and other workmen	2,63,013	6	6
Buildings in the town of Mumtazabad	2,25,581	6	0
The two outer khowar-poorehs	38,005	6	0
The chowkundy of Sutty Khanem	27,078	3	3
The other chowkundys, squares, and buildings near them	52,438	8	0
Total amount, rupees	98,15,426	13	3

The above sum of ninety-eight lacks, or nine millions eight hundred and fifteen thousand rupees, is equal to one million two hundred and twenty-five thousand pounds sterling. Although the price of labour then was, and still continues to be very reasonable in India, yet the expense of the marble and precious stones was immense, and in such profusion as to make the high colouring of oriental poetry no longer ideal.

" There stately mansions new and old
" Flame with Barbaric gems and gold;
" There shine, with pride, the regal stores,
" Of ivory roofs, and cedrine floors;
" There diadems of price unknown
" Blaze with each all-attracting stone:
" Firm diamonds, like fix'd honour true,
" Some pink, and some of yellow hue;
" Some black, yet not the less esteem'd,
" The rest like tranquil Jumna gleam'd,
" When in her bed the Gopia lave
" Betray'd by the pellucid wave.
" Like raging fire the ruby glow'd,
" Or soft, but radiant water show'd;
" Pure amethysts, in richest ore
" Oft found, a purple vesture wore;
" Sapphires, like yon ethereal plain;
" Emeralds, like peipal fresh with rain;
" Gay topazes, translucent gold;
" Pale chrysolites of softer mould;
" Fam'd beryls, like the surge marine,
" Light azure mix'd with modest green;
" Refracted every varying dye,
" Bright as yon bow that girds the sky.
" Here opals, which all hues unite,
" Display their many-tinctur'd light;

"With turquoises divinely blue,
"(Though doubts arise where first they grew,)
"Whether chaste elephantine bone,
"By minerals ting'd, or native stone)
"And pearls unblemish'd, such as deck
"*Bhawanee's* wrist, or *Lecshmy's* neck." ENCHANTED FRUIT.

Many things in the description of the Faje-Mahal at Agra have a great resemblance to the ornaments in Solomon's temple, which was adorned with onyx-stones, precious and glistering stones of divers colours, and marble in abundance. And as Shah Jehan appointed one superior artist, or jewel-handed man, to superintend that magnificent structure, so Solomon wrote to Huram, king of Tyre, to send him a man cunning to work in gold and silver, in brass and iron, in purple, and crimson, and blue, and that had skill to grave with the cunning men of Judah and Jerusalem.

Engraved by T. Wageman.

A COOLIE CHIEFTAIN.

Jam. Forbes, 1782.

Published by White, Cochrane & Co. Fleet Street, June 2nd 1812.

Fac-Simile of the inlaid work on the TOMB *at* AGRA, *called*
TAJE-MAHAL, *or* CROWN *of the* SERAGLIO.

Jam. Forbes. 1781.

CHAPTER XXX.

AHMED-ABAD;

AN ACCOUNT OF ITS FORMER GRANDEUR, AND PRESENT DECAY;

THE CHARACTER OF ITS INHABITANTS;

A DESCRIPTION OF THE MOSQUES, PALACES, GARDENS,

AND PRINCIPAL STRUCTURES, IN

THAT IMPERIAL CITY.

"I conceive every traveller does well to submit to his country, observations which have arisen from local knowledge; since, out of much dross, it is possible some pure gold may be extracted: and by whatever customs or prejudices mankind are enslaved, that very circumstance renders the knowledge of importance. Those who have never travelled, conceive their own country to be superior to any other; and its customs the most excellent: we should, therefore, in deciding upon any custom, lay aside our own prejudices, and examine all things with impartiality; from which it commonly results, that after a while, you perceive the customs of each country have arisen with propriety from its locality and climate." ORIENTAL COLLECTIONS.

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CHAPTER XXX.

The imperial city of Ahmedabad is situated in the latitude of 23 degrees north, and in 72° 37′ east longitude, and is built on the banks of the river Sabermatty, which washes its western walls. From being formerly one of the largest capitals in the east, it is now only five miles and three quarters in circumference, surrounded by a high wall, with irregular towers every fifty yards, in the usual style of Indian fortifications; there are twelve principal gates, and several smaller sally-ports.

Ahmedabad was built in the year 1426 A. D. by sultan Ahmed Shah, on the site of a more ancient town. The sultan being on a hunting party at a great distance from Gulburga, his usual place of residence, was so delighted with this spot, that he resolved to build a magnificent city, and call it after his own name Ahmed-abad. In its greatest splendor, it extended, with the suburbs, twenty-seven miles in circumference; Thevenot, who visited it in the seventeenth century, says it was then seven leagues: and the Ayeen Akbery thus describes it; "there are two forts, on the out-side of which is the town; it formerly consisted of three hundred and sixty pooras, or quarters; but only eighty-four are now in a flourishing condition: in these are a thousand mosques, each hav-

ing two large minarets, and many wonderful inscriptions. The situation, upon the river Sabermatty, is remarkably healthy, and you may here provide yourself with the productions of every part of the globe."

"all now obscur'd
"By sordid moss, and ivy's creeping leaf;
"The princely palace, and stupendous fane,
"Magnificent in ruin, nod! Where time
"From under shelving architraves, hath mow'd
"The column down, and cleft the pond'rous stone!"

On every side, nodding minarets, decaying palaces, and mouldering aqueducts, indicate the former magnificence of Ahmedabad. It was then enriched by commerce, peopled by industry, and adorned by wealth. Long wars, unstable and oppressive governments, and the fluctuations of human establishments, have brought it to a state of decay from which it seems doomed never to recover.

From the appearance of these scattered ruins, I have no doubt that Ahmedabad once extended near thirty miles; London, with its environs, is not much less, and ancient history, sacred and profane, astonishes us with the extent and magnificence of Nineveh and Babylon. Josephus describes the former as an exceeding great city of three days journey; twenty miles a day was the common oriental journey for foot travellers. Diodorus Siculus, and other authors, make its extent more than sixty miles; it contained habitations for six hundred thousand inhabitants; with the gardens and pastures usual in eastern cities.

Babylon, but little inferior to Nineveh, was styled the glory

of nations, the beauty of Chaldea, the lady of kingdoms, the golden city, with many similar titles, given by the prophets, as characteristic of its splendour and dignity. Nothing could exceed the grandeur of its palaces and temples, nor the beauty of the hanging-gardens: these, with the canals, water-works, and other ornaments, described by ancient historians, fill the mind with astonishment. How awful are the reflections upon the judgments denounced against these cities for their impiety and idolatry! they were so literally accomplished that infidels have been compelled to assert that the prophecies were written after the events.

Herodotus and Diodorus say the walls of Babylon were three hundred and fifty feet high, and eighty-seven broad; so that six chariots could pass abreast on the ramparts; a magnitude perhaps without a parallel; yet it was foretold, that for the wickedness of its inhabitants it should become a desolation, a dry land, and a wilderness; a land where no man should dwell, neither any son of man pass thereby: that it should be a spot swept with the besom of destruction; where the Arabian would not pitch his tent nor the shepherds make their folds. So literally is all this fulfilled, that travellers, a few centuries ago, assert that the ruins of ancient Babylon were so full of venomous creatures, especially of a poisonous animal called eglo, that no one dared to approach nearer this heap of desolation than half a league; and those who have been lately there, declare they can no longer discern the site of this ancient city.

Ahmedabad, like those proud capitals, seemed hastening to its dissolution; from covering an extent of thirty miles, it had dwindled to less than six; much of that space, even within the walls, was

covered with ruins, or appropriated to corn-fields and fruit-gardens. Some of the streets were broad, but not planted with rows of trees, as mentioned by Mandesloe, and other travellers; neither are they paved. The triumphal arches, or three united gates, in the principal streets, with the grand entrance to the durbar, still remain. The mosques and palaces of the Pattans still give evidence of their original magnificence. The streets were spacious and regular; the temples, aqueducts, fountains, caravansaries, and courts of justice well arranged. Commerce, art, and science, met with every encouragement, when a splendid court was kept in this city; it was then the resort of merchants, artists, and travellers of every description; it now exhibits solitude, poverty, and desolation! You behold the most heterogeneous mixture of Mogul splendor and Mahratta barbarism; a noble cupola, overshadowing hovels of mud; small windows, ill-fashioned doors, and dirty cells introduced under a superb portico; a marble corridore filled up with *Choolas*, or cooking-places, composed of mud, cow-dung, and unburnt bricks.

But declining commerce and ruined buildings are not the only symptoms of decay. I saw a great many unfortunate Pattan and Mogul families, who, having survived the dignified situation of their ancestors, lived in the gloom of obscurity, and felt the degradation of poverty. The young men offered themselves as soldiers of fortune to more flourishing governments, or otherwise sought a provision. Not so the aged, the infirm, and the softer sex; they had seen better days; "they could not dig, to beg they were ashamed." The jewels and ornaments of the Mogul paraphernalia were privately sold at a great disadvantage, to procure the neces-

saries of life; during my short residence I saw many articles thus disposed of, especially a small mirror, in the centre of a single agate, adorned with golden foliage, and roses of small rubies, which had been purchased from a Mogul widow for only ten rupees. Of such females it might truly be said, " her virgins are afflicted, her matrons are desolate; they sigh for bread, they have given their pleasant things for meat!"

These unhappy families excited our pity; their wants were not relieved by that generous charity which characterizes my native country, where the children of adversity find affliction softened and sorrow soothed, by exalted souls, who wipe the falling tear from the orphan's eye, and cause the " widow's heart to sing for joy." Virtues amply recompensed in this life, by sweet sensations in the soul of sympathy, unknown to the votaries of dissipation, and will meet a glorious reward in that day, when those who have pity upon the poor shall be pronounced blessed, and the merciful shall obtain mercy!

It is not my intention to infer that among the Mahomedans and Hindoos there are no charitable institutions: far from it; they have many of various descriptions unknown to the polite Greeks and luxurious Romans, who in general disregarded the old and diseased poor, and treated their sick slaves with savage cruelty. With pleasure I have mentioned the charitable endowments in Hindostan, from the banian-hospital at Surat, to the provision made in the Guzerat villages, for the poor, the helpless, and the traveller. But to these, like the English *poor's-rates*, a refusal of contribution is seldom optional. The spirit of christianity supersedes compulsive and ostentatious modes of charity; alms given

from a different motive may equally benefit the object; but the heart which melts at another's woe, is actuated by very superior considerations to those which produce the same effect from the church-warden, or overseer of a work-house. Love is the essence of that divine religion, it pervades the whole system of the gospel. And from that pure principle in the Christian's heart, flow all the delightful charities of life.

> " Hail! sacred source of sympathy divine,
> " Each social pulse, each social fibre thine!
> " Hail, symbols of the God, to whom we owe
> " The nerves that vibrate, and the hearts that glow·
> " Love's tender tumult, friendship's holy fires,
> " And all which beauty, all which worth inspires;
> " The joy that lights the hope-illumin'd eye,
> " The bliss supreme that melts in pity's sigh;
> " Affection's bloom, quick rushing to the face,
> " The choice acknowledg'd, and the warm embrace!
> " Blest myriads still there are,
> " Whom Sympathy adopts with fondest care;
> " Unbrib'd by wealth, by fortune undismay'd,
> " Friends in the sun-shine, partners in the shade;
> " In whose warm hearts the soft sensations roll,
> " The same in India, Albion, or the Pole!" PRATT.

In Ahmedabad, as in most other large cities of India, are splendid remains of those noble structures, for the accommodation of travellers, erected by the Mogul monarchs. They were not always in towns, but frequently in deserts, and places little frequented, except by travelling merchants and religious pilgrims, whose profession led them from one place to another, through every variety of country. When benighted in a dreary solitude,

they were certain, within a moderate distance, to find one of these buildings appropriated for their accommodation, and were often supplied with the necessaries of life gratis; at least such as sufficed the lower classes of pilgrims. Opulent travellers, as already mentioned, always carry their comforts and luxuries with them on an eastern journey.

Those buildings, under the different names of serais, caravansaries, or choultries, were erected at stated distances throughout the Mogul empire, especially on the patshah, or royal roads. In those provinces which now form part of the Mahratta dominion, many of these structures have been converted into fortresses; others are made storehouses for the grain and hay belonging to the circar; a few answer the purpose for which they were intended, but most are in a state of dilapidation. The serais were generally constructed in an oblong square, consisting of a high wall and towers, with a handsome entrance at each end; a few had a gateway at the cardinal points. The gates were often of considerable strength, with guard-rooms on each side. Two ranges of apartments for the convenience of the merchants, containing sleeping rooms and warehouses for their goods, formed a street from one gate to the other; with a colonnade, or veranda, in front of the buildings, opening to a spacious area between them. The serais with four gates contained a double range of these apartments, forming an avenue to each entrance. Under the inner wall of the ramparts were similar accommodations. In the most complete and splendid serais a due regard was observed for public worship, ablutions, and other ceremonies; without the eastern gate was generally erected a musjid, or house of prayer, where a

mullah attended to assist the pious Mussulman in his devotions. This edifice, of marble or stone, was often surrounded by a garden, or a tope of mangoes and tamarinds, shading a cemetery for such pilgrims as finished the journey of life at a place where they only intended a halt. The opposite gate often led to a tank, well, and useful gardens: these were noble and expensive works, becoming a wise government. As mentioned at Surat, they were sometimes erected by the piety and benevolence of opulent individuals, who could not have bestowed a more useful charity in a country where there are no public hotels, inns, or houses of refreshment.

Sultan Ahmed, the founder of the city, enriched it with a variety of other public structures, especially a magnificent jumma musjed, or grand mosque, called after his name, which arrests the attention of all strangers. It stands in the middle of the city, adorned by two lofty minarets, elegantly proportioned, and richly decorated: each minaret contains a circular flight of steps leading to a gallery near the summit, for the purpose of convening the people to prayer, no bells being in use among the Mahomedans. From thence you command an extensive view of Ahmedabad, and the Saberty winding through a wide champaign. The domes of the jumma musjed are supported by lofty columns, regularly disposed, but too much crowded; the concave of these cupolas is richly ornamented with Mosaic and fret-work; the portal corresponds with the rest of this stupendous fabric, and the pavement is of the finest marble. This mosque occupies the western side of a large square; in the centre of which is a marble basin and fountain, for ablutions, called the wazzoo, preparatory

to the namauz, or prayer; such reservoirs and fountains are made near most of the mosques for the convenience of the congregation. The other sides of this spacious area are rendered useful and ornamental by a surrounding corridore, of elegant columns, supporting a roof of light columns, forming a cloister round three parts of the square; its interior walls and cornices are ornamented with sentences from the Koran, emblazoned in a beautiful manner.

An uncommon degree of solemnity characterises this jumma musjed. Grandeur and simplicity unite, and fill the mind with reverential awe. Whatever may be the general characteristic of the Mahomedans, their demeanor from the moment they enter the house of prayer is truly exemplary. They seem conscious of having approached the immediate presence of the Supreme Being, and all ranks conduct themselves throughout the service with pious humility.

Near the jumma musjed is a grand mausoleum, in memory of sultan Ahmed and two of his sons. Beyond it is the cemetery of the sultanas, princesses, and favourite eunuchs in the royal haram. No domes or temples cover their marble tombs, they are shaded by cypresses and pomegranates, surrounded by flowering shrubs. Certain lands, called *wukf*, are appropriated for the maintenance of the mullahs and dervises who constantly reside there, to preserve the tombs, keep the lamps burning, and strew flowers on stated anniversaries.

The mosque built by Sujaat Khaun, though less magnificent, is more elegant than sultan Ahmed's; the columns and arches are finely proportioned, and the whole structure, of the pures

white marble, surrounded by the dark foliage and glowing scarlet of pomegranate blossoms, had an uncommon effect. "*Mucburré Sujaat Khaun*," is proverbially beautiful among the Moguls of Guzerat. The precincts contain a handsome mausoleum, in memory of the founder, and a fountain of excellent water; near them is the falling palace of this benevolent nobleman, once a sumptuous edifice, now an extensive ruin.

"Troy is no more, and Ilium *was* a town!"

I will proceed no further with the religious edifices than the *ivory mosque*, which, although built of white marble, has obtained that distinction, from being curiously lined with ivory, and inlaid with a profusion of gems, to imitate natural flowers, bordered by a silver foliage on mother of pearl, similar to those I mentioned at Puttowah, and to the ornaments in the winter apartments of the Kahya's palace at Adrinople, described by Lady Wortley Montague; which "were wainscotted with inlaid work of mother of pearl, ivory of different colours, and olive-wood, like the little boxes brought from Turkey."

Each of these mosques would have furnished a beautiful subject for a drawing; but while sketching the jumma musjed from the central fountain in the large area, I felt something like a *coup de soleil*, and was obliged to retire. I have seldom experienced greater heat than during the hot winds at Ahmedabad; situated at a distance from the sea, and not refreshed by its breezes, the external atmosphere, for many hours in the day, was insupportable; the heavens were as brass, and the earth like heated iron, and we were obliged to confine ourselves in dark rooms, cooled

by tatties, or screens of matted grass, kept continually watered. I therefore gave up my intention of seeing several places within a few miles of the city; like *Thevenot*, when he relinquished his visit to the tomb of *Jonah*, on the banks of the Tigris; "from there being no possibility of stirring abroad two hours after the sun was risen, until an hour after it had set, the walls being so hot, that half a foot from them the heat was as if it were from a hot iron."

Exclusive of the public aqueducts for conveying water to different parts of the city, which with most of the reservoirs and fountains were now in ruins, were many private wells and gardens, the gift of benevolent individuals; these extended in all directions from the city gates; some yet remain, but are mostly involved in the general ruin. Dr. Chandler's travels in Asia Minor give a pleasing account of these charitable donations, and an observation at the conclusion, which I have no doubt operates powerfully on the mind of the donor. "The number of these fountains is owing to the nature of the country and the climate. The soil, parched and thirsty, demands moisture to aid vegetation; and a cloudless sun, which inflames the air, requires for the people the verdure, shade and coolness, its agreeable attendants. Hence they occur not only in the towns and villages, but in the fields and gardens, and by the sides of the roads and of the beaten tracks on the mountains. Many of them are the useful donations of humane persons, while living, or have been bequeathed as legacies on their decease. The Turks esteem the erecting them as meritorious, and seldom go away, after performing their ablutions or

drinking, without gratefully blessing the name and memory of the founder."

Until this visit to Ahmedabad, I had no idea of the extent of oriental magnificence; the palaces and splendid chambers described in the Arabian Nights' Entertainment, appear no longer over-charged or fabulous; excepting only the wonder-working genii, called into action by Aladin's celebrated lamp. For I have no doubt there was a time when the palaces and gardens at Ahmedabad, almost realized the other descriptions of the luxurious mansions in Balsora and Bagdad. I can, at least, have no idea of any reality beyond those erected and adorned by Shah Jehan and Sujaat Khaun. Homer must have been familiar with such scenes, when he describes the palaces and treasures at Ithaca and the Spartan court, especially where Telemachus thus addresses Pisistratus.

"View'st thou unmov'd, O ever-honour'd most!
"These prodigies of art, and wonderous cost?
"Above, beneath, around the palace shines
"The sumless treasure of exhausted mines:
"The spoils of elephants the roofs inlay,
"And studded amber darts a golden ray!
"Mean time the lofty rooms the prince surveys,
"Where lay the treasures of the Ithacian race:
"Here ruddy brass, and gold refulgent blaz'd;
"There polish'd chests embroider'd vestures grac'd;
"Here jars of oil breath'd forth a rich perfume,
"There casks of wine, in rows, adorn'd the room." HOMER'S ODYSSEY.

Notwithstanding all its splendour, Ahmedabad was called by Shah Jehan, who was long resident there, *Guerdabad*, or the *city of*

dust, from the abundance of dust in the dry season. After the prevalence of the hot winds, before the setting in of the rainy season, it is still one of the warmest and most dusty places I ever visited.

I omitted to remark, that one of the principal mosques in this city was formerly a Hindoo temple. The zealous Aurungzebe converted it into a musjed; and ordered a cow to be killed there, in order to prevent the Hindoos from ever entering it. Thevenot mentions the mausoleum of a cow, that was buried at Ahmedabad, covered by a dome supported by six pillars, which I could not find out. He also describes a banian-hospital similar to that at Surat, where he saw a number of sick oxen, camels, and horses, and many invalids of the feathered race. Animals deemed incurable were maintained there for life; those that recovered were sold to Hindoos exclusively.

The former consequence of Ahmedabad may be in some degree ascertained from its being one of the four cities where the imperial Akber permitted gold to be coined; the other three allowed that distinguished privilege were Agra, Cabul, and the capital of Bengal; ten cities were indulged with a royal mint for silver, and in twenty-eight they coined a copper currency. There are no remains of the mint, treasury, and many other public buildings; but several magnificent ruins of the hummums, or warm baths. Those of modern structure are very inferior, but are kept up in different quarters for the convenience of the inhabitants. It is probable that all the oriental hummums, in point of architecture, accommodation, and beauty, have been at all times insignificant, when compared with those sumptuous edifices in ancient Rome, which now form a very conspicuous part of her

majestic ruins; and not only in that once proud capital, but in many of her conquered kingdoms and provinces. Few cities, perhaps, excelled Alexandria in such embellishments. When it was taken by the Saracens the number of baths exceeded four thousand, as we learn from the conflagration of the Alexandrian library, by order of the caliph Omar; when seven hundred thousand volumes were condemned to be used as fuel to heat them: and notwithstanding that amazing number of baths, six months elapsed before all the books were consumed. The literary world must ever lament this cruel mandate of ignorance and bigotry. The manuscripts had been accumulating for ages; and the art of printing being then unknown, the loss was irreparable!

In Ahmedabad, as in most other large oriental cities, are a sort of news-writers, or gazetteers, who at midnight record all the transactions of the preceding day, and send them off by express halcarras, or messengers, to their correspondents in distant provinces. During the splendour of the Mogul government, in the capital of every district, the emperor maintained a gazetteer, an historiographer, and a spy, to collect and record the occurrences of the day; and immediately to transmit them to a public officer at the imperial court, who laid such as were of importance before the sovereign.

Not far from the city wall is a beautiful lake, called Kokarea, about a mile in circumference, lined with hewn stone, and a flight of steps all around. The four entrances, which were probably formerly approached through avenues of the red tamarind-tree, are adorned with cupolas, supported by pillars; in the centre is an island, with a summer-palace, and gardens shaded by the

red tamarind; a rare tree, equal in size and beauty to the common tamarind, with a fruit far more delicious, and sent in presents as a confection to distant parts of India. The palace was in ruins, and the gardens neglected. Among a variety of trees still remaining was a very uncommon species of the palmyra; after growing up in a straight stem, to a considerable height, like others of that genus, it shot forth upwards of forty branches, with a tuft of spreading leaves at the extremity of each branch, like the common borassus flabelliformis: this tree is esteemed a great curiosity, and visited by most travellers, who, like myself, had perhaps never seen any but the usual palmyra, or brab-tree, which has only branches and leaves on the summit of a straight single stem, forty or fifty feet from the ground. A bridge of forty-eight arches formed a communication with the island, which, like all the surrounding ornaments, was in a state of dilapidation.

At a short distance from Kokarea is the Dutch burying-ground, containing several handsome tombs, in the style of the Mogul mausoleums, covered by a dome supported by pillars. Some of the inscriptions are dated at the commencement of the seventeenth century, when the Dutch had a factory at Ahmedabad, which has been long withdrawn. The English at the same time carried on a considerable trade at most of the opulent towns in Guzerat. We were shewn the spot in this city where the Company's factory stood in the year 1614; this circumstance, although often doubted, confirms an occurrence in Orme's fragments of the English trade at Surat, that in November 1613, Messrs. Aldworth and Withington, two of the Company's servants, travelled from Surat, to examine the marts of Baroche, Jamboseer,

Brodera, Neriad, and Ahmedabad; where they received intelligence that three English ships had arrived at Laureebunder on the river Indus. Thither Withington proceeded, travelling for safety with a caravan, which was attacked by the coolies: the next day they met an officer of the great Mogul, with two hundred and fifty heads of these coolies, whom he calls a nation of robbers. He returned, after many disasters, to Surat, by the route of Cambay and Baroche. Mr. Aldworth had also arrived there from Ahmedabad, and Baroche; he had hired a house at each of those places on the Company's account, and left brokers and domestics to provide goods, until the factors from Surat should come to examine them, and settle the prices.

The Dutch, and other European merchants, at that time carried on an extensive trade at Ahmedabad, where the greatest variety of the rich gold and silver-flowered silks and satins, called kimcobs and allichars, were manufactured, together with silk and cotton goods of almost every description; the trade in indigo was very extensive; the best workmen in steel, gold, ivory, enamel, and inlaid mother of pearl, met with great encouragement; it was also celebrated for excellent paper, and lackered ware, in cabinets, boxes, and ornaments. Few traces of this commerce now remain, except a few small manufactures of chintz and kimcobs; and some of lackered-work, ornamented with gold and silver for escritoirs, boxes and palanquins, only made when they are previously bespoke. They began and finished for me an elegant sandal-wood escritoir, lackered with black and gold, in ten days.

Paintings in water-colours by modern artists at Ahmedabad, are in all respects very inferior to those of the portrait and minia-

ture painters in the seventeenth century, of which I have many beautiful specimens by artists of Agra and Delhi; often deficient in proportion and perspective, but probably faithful in general character and physiognomy, and exquisitely finished. It is a mistaken idea that the Mahomedan artists do not imitate subjects in animated nature. The Turks I believe sometimes make objections, from particular passages in the Koran; it has always been otherwise in Persia, and the northern capitals of India. Among the munificent acts of the imperial Akber, he employed artists to make portraits of all the principal omrahs and officers in his court; they were bound together in a thick volume, wherein, as the Ayeen Akbery expresses it, "the past are kept in lively remembrance, and the present are insured immortality."

It is not probable that portraits were often taken of females, especially those of distinction. Oriental manners, and the natural jealousy of Mahomedans, would generally prevent it; yet I have seen a few pictures, drawn from Mogul and Persian beauties, in a costume like that of the Mogul lady described at Surat; and the dress of the high Mahomedan females at Ahmedabad, almost exactly resembles that of an eastern beauty upwards of two thousand years ago. "I washed thee with water, and anointed thee with oil; I clothed thee with broidered-work, girded thee with fine linen, and covered thee with silk: I also decked thee with ornaments, put bracelets upon thine hands, and a chain on thy neck: I put a jewel on thy forehead, earrings in thine ears, and a beautiful crown upon thine head. Thus wast thou decked with gold and silver; thy raiment was of fine linen, silk, and embroidery: thou wast perfect for comeliness, and thy renown went forth for thy

beauty! Thou didst eat fine flour, and honey, and oil, and wast exceedingly beautiful." Such is the figurative language of Ezekiel for the daughter of Zion, the lady of beauty, the capital of Judea. It is literally a description of those noble Mogul women lately mentioned, who privately sent out their nurses and duennas to barter their jewels for bread, and their ornaments for a measure of grain. These women are not like the temporary nurses in Europe, but such as Savary mentions in Egypt, and common in the respectable families of Hindostan, where peculiar circumstances may require a female of that description, who is not looked upon as a stranger, but becomes one of the family, and passes the remainder of her life in the midst of the children she has suckled, by whom she is honoured and cherished like a second mother.

These elderly matrons make no objection to visit a man of character, whether European or native, especially when they can befriend their unhappy mistress or her children. Such were they who brought the agate mirror and jewels to the English gentlemen during my visit at Ahmedabad, who lamented the misfortunes and dignified sorrow of their ladies with little variation from these pathetic strains of sacred writ: "The daughters of Zion sit upon the ground, and keep silence; they have cast dust upon their heads, and covered themselves with sackcloth; the virgins of Jerusalem hang down their heads to the ground. What thing shall I take to witness for thee? unto what shall I liken thee, O daughter of Jerusalem? Who can heal thee, and with what shall I comfort thee, O virgin daughter of Zion? The children and the sucklings swoon in the streets of the city; they say unto their mothers, where is corn and wine?"

At Sercaze, a sacred place, five miles from Ahmedabad, is a very grand musjed, which is said to be an exact imitation of the temple at Mecca, so highly revered by every pious mussulman. It also contains a complete model of the kaaba, a square building at Mecca, which the ancient Arabians used to adorn with the best compositions of their poets, written in golden characters on silk hangings. This building was highly venerated by the Arabians, who supposed it to have been the first place consecrated to the worship of the True God. Mahomed availed himself of this tradition cherished by his countrymen, to establish the hodge, or annual pilgrimage to the holy spot; thither all his devout followers were enjoined, at one period of their lives, to perform the most solemn acts of religion. The artful prophet had also political and commercial designs to accomplish, which, until the late revolutions and new sectaries in Arabia, were very successful: thither resorted large caravans of camels, laden with valuable productions from every part of the east; and the annual fair at Mecca was perhaps the greatest mart in the world. The woollens, cloths, and useful metals of Europe; spices, gems, silks, muslins, and all the coarser cottons of India; ivory, slaves, and gold-dust from Africa; together with all the luxuries and comforts from other places, were sold or bartered at Mecca, and returned by the caravans to every part of Asia. The number of hodgees, or pilgrims, who annually assembled there, frequently exceeded two hundred thousand. During my residence in India, the nabob of Arcot and other mahomedan princes, sent ships annually to the Red Sea, to accommodate the pilgrims of both sexes proceeding to the sacred shrines at Mecca

and Medina, with a passage to Judda, the port where they generally landed.

Among other excursions from Ahmedabad, we spent a delightful day at *Shah-Bauhg*, or the *royal garden*, a summer palace two miles from the city, pleasantly situated on the banks of the Sabermatty. Although built near two hundred years before, by the emperor Shah Jehan, when sultan Currim, viceroy of Guzerat, it was still in excellent repair. The saloon, spacious and lofty as the building, was a fine room; the wall covered with shell chunam, a white stucco, polished like the finest marble, and the cieling painted in small compartments with much taste. The angular recesses lead to eight small octagon rooms, four below and as many above, with separate stairs to each; they are finished in the same style as the saloon, the walls like alabaster, and the cielings neatly embossed. The flat roof commands an extensive prospect, the substructions form a cool retreat under the saloon and a surrounding platform, ornamented with small canals and fountains. These substructions are on a level with the flower-garden, which reached to the river; every thing appears to have been elegant and splendid. It was during the reign of Shah Jehan that architectural taste in the mahomedan structures of India attained its acmé.

The park and pleasure-grounds of Shah-Bauhg extended from the palace to the city gates; they were enclosed by a high wall, which is now in ruins: little of the gardens remains except broken fountains, aqueducts, and a few trees; some of foreign appearance. The zenana, or sultana's palace, was situated at a little distance from the royal mansion, on the bank of the Sabermatty, with sepa-

rate gardens, baths, and fountains. The apartments for the officers and attendants of the court were still further detached. Every thing indicates the taste and judgment of Shah Jehan, in planning this lovely retreat from the cares of royalty. It now exhibits a scene of solitude and ruin, except the palace itself. The zenana seems to have been intended to accommodate a great number of females: whether Shah Jehan entertained the same political sentiments on this subject as his grandfather Akber, is foreign to the purpose; but it may not be irrelevant to give Abul Fazel's account of Akber's seraglio, both for its novelty and good sense.

That intelligent writer allows "that there is in general a great inconvenience arising from a number of women; but his majesty, out of the abundance of his wisdom and prudence, has made it subservient to public advantage; for by contracting marriages with the daughters of the princes of Hindostan and other countries, he secures himself against insurrections at home, and forms powerful alliances abroad." He then describes the haram as an enclosure of such an immense extent, as to contain a separate room for every one of the women, whose number exceeded five thousand; who were divided into companies, and a proper employment assigned to each individual. Over each of these companies a woman was appointed (darogha); and one was selected for the command of the whole, in order that the affairs of the haram might be conducted with the same regularity and good government as the other departments of the state. Every one received a salary according to her merit: the pen cannot measure the extent of the emperor's largesses, but the ladies of the first

quality received from one thousand to sixteen hundred rupees per month; and the servants, according to their rank, from two rupees to fifty-one, monthly. And whenever any of this multitude of women wanted any thing, they applied to the treasurer of the haram, who according to their monthly stipend took care their wants should be supplied. The inside of the haram was guarded by women, and the most confidential were placed about the royal apartments. The eunuchs watched immediately on the outside gate, and at proper distances were placed the rajepoots, and porters of the gates; and on the outside of the enclosure, the omrahs, the ahdeeans, and other troops mounted guard, according to their rank."

The gardens of the zenana at Shah-bhaug, on the banks of the Sabermatty, must have been peculiarly delightful. I am a passionate admirer of water, shade, and verdure, especially in a sultry climate; but those pleasure-grounds, and all the Asiatic gardens I ever saw, were deficient in the verdant lawns, artless shrubberies, and varied scenery, which when attempted to be introduced in France, Italy, and Germany, I always found dignified by the appellation of "Jardins á l'Angloise." In Hindostan the royal gardens are often called the Garden of God; perhaps Paradise is the term intended; although it must be allowed that the Mahomedans in every thing affect to ascribe their blessings to the benevolence of the Deity.

The princely gardens at Shah-bhaug still boast of some noble cypresses, cedars, palmetos, sandal, and cassia trees, with mango, tamarind, and other spreading fruit trees. The large and small aqueducts, admirably contrived for conveying water to every tree

and bed in the garden, with all the surrounding oriental scenery, minutely resembled a picture drawn by the son of Sirach; "I was exalted like a cedar in Libanus, and as a cypress tree upon the mountain of Hermon; I was like a tall palm-tree in Engaddi, and a rose in Jericho; as a fair olive in a pleasant field, and as a plane-tree by the water. I gave a sweet smell like cinnamon and aspalathus; I yielded a pleasant odour as myrrh, galbanum, and frankincense. I came out as a brook from a river, and as a conduit into a garden; to water my best garden, and abundantly to water my garden bed."

How these oriental portraits may suit in a cold climate I cannot determine. I doubly felt their truth and beauty in the sultry spot where I wrote them; although for the first time during my residence in Hindostan I was then on the borders of the temperate zone.

Such as above described by an ancient writer, is still the perfection of an eastern garden. The same trees shade their retreats, the same flowers adorn their borders; but especially the rose of Sharon, or the Damascus rose, which from the age of Solomon to the present day has been an universal favourite; and formerly, a considerable quantity of ottar of roses, the most delicate of all perfumes, was made from the rosaries near Ahmed-abad. The usual method of making this is to gather the roses with their calyxes, and put them into a still, with nearly double their weight of water; which, when sufficiently distilled, will be highly scented with roses: it is then poured into shallow earthen vessels, and exposed to the nocturnal air; the next morning the ottar or essential oil, extracted from the flowers, is found in small congealed particles, swimming on the surface; it is carefully collected and pre-

served in small glass bottles. One hundred pounds of roses seldom yield more than from two to three ounces of this precious essence, which it is difficult to procure unadulterated; as the distillers frequently put sandal-wood, scented-grass, and other oily plants into the still, which depreciate the value and debase the fragrance of the rose. The genuine ottar is of different colours, sometimes green, frequently of a bright yellow like amber, and often of a reddish hue; the rose water which remains is generally very good. There may be other methods of extracting this first of all perfumes, in different countries.

About a mile from Shah-bhaug, is a large well, or rather a noble reservoir, constructed by a nurse to one of the kings of Guzerat, and still called the "Nurse's well." A grand flight of steps leads to the water, through double rows of pillars and pilasters, elegantly finished, far below the surface of the earth. This reservoir is all of hewn stone, surrounded by galleries, ascended by circular steps and a dome supported by light columns over each; these galleries communicate with the principal stairs, and add to the general magnificence. Upwards of thirty thousand pounds were expended on this munificent work; which some attribute to the nurse, and others to a rich dancing-girl, who erected it with the produce of one of her ancle-jewels; the other she is reported to have thrown into the water, to reward the search of the diver; from that deep abyss it has never been recovered. This ridiculous anecdote appears very inconsistent with the good sense and benevolence of the female, who not only dug this beautiful reservoir, but also founded a handsome mosque near it, where her body is deposited under a costly tomb.

In many parts of Hindostan are mosques and mausoleums, built by the Mahomedan princes, near the sepulchres of their nurses. They are excited by a grateful affection to erect these structures, in memory of those, who with maternal anxiety watched over their helpless infancy; thus it has been from time immemorial. How interesting is the inverview which Homer has described between Ulysses and Euriclea! When Rebecca too left her parents, on being betrothed to Isaac, we read that she was accompanied by her nurse, who never left her until the day of her death; which event is not deemed unworthy of being recorded in the patriarchal annals. " Here Deborah, Rebecca's nurse, died, and was buried under an oak; and the name of it was called Allon-bachuth, or the " Oak of weeping."

Ahmedabad was not always the capital of Guzerat, which was once a kingdom under the Hindoo rajahs, who kept their court at Narwalla, a city renowned in the ancient history of Hindostan for wealth, population, and extent. Guzerat, as already mentioned, was always esteemed among the most fertile and beautiful countries in India; it was one of the early conquests of the Afghans, a hardy race from the mountains which separate Persia from Hindostan; they are often called Patans. These invaders established the empire of Ghisni in the 361st year of the Mahomedan hejira, corresponding with the 975th year of the Christian æra; this empire, in its most flourishing period, comprehended nearly half the kingdoms of Asia.

The Hindoos, naturally indolent, and, under the influence of their benevolent institutions, fond of peace, were unable to withstand the incursions of those northern enthusiasts; who, impelled

by bigotry and rapacity, rushed like a torrent upon their fruitful plains. Although the different rajahs sometimes united in the common cause, and raised immense armies, the fierce mountaineers found India an easy conquest. Its largest cities and strongest fortresses were alternately subdued, the Hindoo images destroyed, their temples purified, and dedicated to the unity of Alla.

These northern invaders continued their depredations for many years against the rajahs of Delhi, Ajmere, and the neighbouring kingdoms, and always overpowered the Hindoo armies by their superior skill and matchless courage. When the Afghans poured down with such irresistible fury, the Hindoo princes promised obedience, and submitted to pay a tribute; but becoming impatient of the yoke, they again assisted each other, and united in a general revolt. This caused their implacable enemies to renew their cruelties; and, to use the emphatical language of the eastern historians, "to drown themselves, and their devoted victims, in the crimson torrent of revenge."

The gold, jewels, and wealth of every kind, found at Nagracote, Somenaut, and other celebrated temples, is beyond calculation. Sultan Mahmood made thirteen cruel and successful expeditions from Ghisni, against the Hindoo rajahs. From one of which he carried to his capital a spoil of fifty thousand captives, three hundred and fifty elephants, with gold, diamonds, pearls, and precious effects, to an incredible amount. These riches were generally secreted in the temples: hollow images were filled with jewels; gold and silver, which had been accumulating for ages, were buried under the pavement. At the destruction of the temple of

Somenaut, the brahmins offered the Sultan a large sum to spare the principal idol, which he refused; saying he preferred the title of "the *destroyer* of idols," to the "*seller* of idols," and brandishing his mace, inflicted so violent a blow on the image, that it broke in pieces, and there issued from it an amazing collection of the most precious jewels. The Sultan was immediately congratulated by his Mahomedan courtiers, on the purity and effect of his zeal; and from thence assumed the additional title, a glorious one in their estimation, of Bhool Skikun, the "Destroyer of Idols."

Such were the effects of the Mahomedan invasions on the wretched Hindoos, in the tenth century; and such are now the fatal consequences of modern conquests and depredations by Hindoos, over the descendants of those very invaders, in all the splendid cities in the northern kingdoms of Hindostan. Delhi, Lahor, and Agra, are, like Ahmedabad, a picture of desolation and despair; realizing those pathetic stanzas in the tears of Khorassan.

"The mosque no more admits the pious race;
"Constrain'd, they yield to beasts the holy place,
"A stable now, where dome nor porch is found:
"Nor can the savage foe proclaim his reign,
"For Khorassania's criers all are slain,
"And all her minarets levell'd with the ground.

"Pity, ah pity, those, who oft in vain
"Seek suppliant, drooping nature to sustain,
"A scanty portion of the coarsest corn;
"Alas! how alter'd, since with sensual air,
"And pamper'd pride, they loath'd the sweetest fare,
"And turn'd from costly delicates with scorn.

"Pity, ah pity, those whom, dead to joy,
"No soothing thoughts engage, nor cause employ,
"But night and day their hapless fate to mourn:
"Pity, who forc'd by sullen Fortune's frown,
"Have chang'd for bed of straw their couch of down;
"O sad transition, and estate forlorn!"

Such are the sad consequences of war, directed by a fatal thirst for honour, wealth, and power. Fearful of such convulsions, and influenced by an avaricious disposition, the Hindoos frequently deposited their wealth in the bowels of the earth; a practice still continued by their posterity. The Afghan and Mogul princes, on the contrary, appropriated their riches to much better purposes, in the encouragement of literature, art, and science. They adorned the imperial cities, and other large towns, with splendid palaces and mosques, triumphal arches, extensive aqueducts, and commodious caravansaries; which although in elegant proportion and taste inferior to the public works of Greece and Rome, might vie with them in magnitude and durability.

The jumma musjed, or grand mosque, built by sultan Mahmood, deserves a particular description. The walls, columns, floors, and minarets, were of the choicest marble, granite, and porphyry, inlaid with agates and precious stones; the ornaments within were of gold and silver, with hangings and carpets of the richest manufacture, and large chandeliers of massive gold; this plendid temple was called the Celestial Bride. Near it the sultan founded a large college, and an extensive library, with a museum containing a variety of curiosities from all parts of the world; he

also endowed lands for the maintenance of the students, philosophers, and learned men, whom his munificence attracted to the capital; and several of his successors emulated his example.

Such were the effects of the Afghan victories over the Hindoos; these invaders maintained their conquests until the end of the thirteenth century, when the Moguls, or Mogul Tartars, commenced *their* ravages, and entered some of the northern districts of the Afghan empire; and in 1397, the celebrated Timur-lung, Timur the lame, or Tamerlane, crossed the Indus, and laid waste the adjacent provinces. We must not judge of this conqueror from Rowe's tragedy of Tamerlane; whatever may be the stage effect, it is not founded upon truth: history represents him with an almost unexampled ferocity, depopulating kingdoms, burning cities, and murdering their inhabitants, to gratify his boundless ambition, intolerant zeal, and sanguinary disposition; Mogul annals paint him grasping the empire of Hindostan through seas of blood. I will relate only one instance of Timur's cruelty from the many which blast his laurels. When he was attacked by the Afghans before the citadel of Delhi, there were upwards of an hundred thousand prisoners in his camp, taken after he crossed the Indus. On hearing that some of them had expressed satisfaction on this occasion, the inhuman tyrant issued an order to put all above the age of fifteen to death; on that day of horror the greater part of those miserable captives were destroyed. After the conquest of Delhi, he ordered a massacre no less cruel, on the wretched inhabitants of that devoted city, in which he spared neither age, nor sex, nor condition. Such conduct procured him the title of Hillak Khan, the "destroying prince;" yet this is

the man represented on the English stage with every princely virtue;

> "The scourge of lawless pride, and dire ambition,
> "The great avenger of a groaning world!
> "Well did he wear the sacred cause of justice
> "Upon his prosperous sword. Approving heaven
> "Still crown'd the righteous warrior with success;
> "As if it said, go forth, and be my champion,
> "Thou most like me, of all my works below." ROWE'S TAMERLANE.

Although Timur-lung and other tyrants made such horrid devastation in Hindostan, the Mogul annals do not date its final conquest until 1525; when sultan Baber, a descendant of Timur, seated himself on the musnud at Delhi, and assumed the command of the empire. His son Humaioon, a mild prince, succeeded him in the imperial dignities, and extended his conquests, as there were still some of the smaller Afghan governments unsubdued; and the kingdom of Guzerat, with its capital Ahmedabad, preserved its independence for fifty years longer; when, during the reign of sultan Mahmood, the last of the Pathan dynasty, it yielded to Akber, son of Humaioon, and became a part of the Mogul empire. From that period it formed one of the twelve grand soubahs, and was generally governed by a son of the emperor, as soubah-dar or viceroy; sometimes that honour was conferred upon a favourite omrah, under the title of nawab, or nabob.

In the beginning of the eighteenth century, when many of the distant provinces shook off their allegiance to the Mogul emperor, and these nabobs established themselves as independent

princes, the governor of Ahmedabad and Cambay followed the example, and assumed the sovereignty of that part of Guzerat; which continued in succession to Mohman Khan, who was the last Mogul prince in Ahmedabad; for during his reign, the Mahrattas under Ragonauth Row conquered it about the middle of the eighteenth century. The nabob fled to Cambay, and submitted to the limits of a small territory, subject to the humiliating condition of paying an annual choute, or tribute, to the Mahrattas. Mohman Khan was the nabob of Cambay during my several visits to that capital.

Ahmedabad continued under the Mahratta government until 1779, when an English army, commanded by general Goddard, took it by storm; and, for political reasons, the city with its immediate territory, was ceded to Futty Singh, a Hindoo chieftain of Guzerat, leaving an English garrison in the citadel, which they were in possession of on my arrival; at the termination of the war in 1783 it was restored to the Mahrattas.

I could not describe this celebrated city, without adverting to its former splendour, and the cause of its decay, which imperceptibly led me to an outline of the general history of Hindostan, under its ancient rajahs, and the subsequent governments of the Pathan and Mogul princes, during the latter dynasty, when the empire enjoyed tranquillity, arts, science, agriculture, and manufactures, were encouraged, and the blessings of peace amply diffused, even under a despotic government. Few reigns can be perused with more delight than that of Akber, who is more entitled to the character of Great, than many on whom it has been bestowed; his name, like Alfred's, fills the mind with delight; he

forms a striking contrast to most Asiatic sovereigns. During a reign of more than forty-nine years this great prince made the welfare and happiness of his extensive empire the supreme object of his concern; and, assisted by his excellent vizier, Abul Fazel, and his Hindoo minister, Bheer Bhul, he established such wise institutions, as have seldom been surpassed in the civil or military departments of the most enlightened sovereigns. Whoever peruses the Ayeen Akbery, or "the Institutes of the emperor Akber," must be pleased with the wisdom and humanity which regulated the conduct both of the monarch and his minister, and pervaded the whole system of jurisprudence. The former died at Agra, at the age of sixty-three, in the year 1605; the latter was murdered on returning from the Deccan, three years before, by some banditti, to the inexpressible sorrow of his royal master: of Bheer Bhul's fate I am ignorant.

The piety and humility of Abul Fazel shine conspicuously in his preface to the Ayeen Akbery, which thus commences:

"In the name of the most merciful god!

"O Lord! all thy mysteries are impenetrable.
"Unknown are thy beginning, and thy end.
"In thee both beginning and end are lost!
"The name of both are lost in the mansions of thy eternity!
"It is sufficient that I offer up my thanksgiving, and meditate
"in astonishment.
"My ecstasy is sufficient knowledge of Thee!"

Abul Fazel's character of Akber, with which his sublime preface concludes, is grateful, just and beautiful.

" Praise be unto God! Akber, the exalted monarch of our own times, is endowed with such laudable dispositions, that it is no exaggeration to say he surpasses all the sages of antiquity. From the light of wisdom he discovers all ranks of men; and by the rectitude of his conduct, he adds splendour to his understanding, by the performance of laudable actions. Who is it that is able to measure the extent of his virtues? They are not only beyond expression, but even exceed conception. It it better that I make not the attempt, but point out a few intelligible wonders, by setting forth his regulations for the household, for the ordering of the army, and for the prosperity of the kingdom; upon which three things depends the glory of a monarch; hereby preparing a rich gift for the intelligent, who seek after knowledge."

So highly respected was Akber among the Hindoos, who wish to appropriate every thing to themselves, that in Wilford's Essays, we find they insist that Akber was a Hindoo, in a former generation. The proximity of the time in which this famous emperor lived, has forced them, however, to account for this in the following manner. There was a holy brahmin, who wished very much to become emperor of India; and the only practicable way for him was to die first, and be born again. For this purpose he made a desperate tapasya, wishing to remember then every thing he knew in his present generation. This could not be fully granted, but he was indulged with writing on a brass plate a few things which he wished more particularly to remember; then he was directed to bury the plate, and promised that he would recollect the place in the next generation. Mucunda, for that was his name, went to *Allahabad*, buried the plate, and then burned him-

self: nine months after he was born in the character of Akber; who, as soon as he ascended the throne, went to *Allahabad*, and easily found the spot where the brass plate was buried. Thus the Hindoos claim Mahomed and Akber as their own; exactly like the Persians of old, who insisted that Alexander the Great was the son of one of their kings; so that, after all, they were forced to submit to their countrymen only.

Akber was succeeded by Selim his son, who then took the name of Jehangire; this emperor appointed his son sultan Currain to be viceroy of Guzerat, and conferred on him the title of Shah-Jehan, "king of the world," which he retained after he became emperor, in 1628. It was during the reign of Jehangire, in 1615, that Sir Thomas Roe was sent on an embassy to the Mogul court, by James the First, king of England. About that time the soubah of Guzerat was in a very flourishing condition; if we are to believe the Mogul writers, Ahmedabad then contained near three millions of inhabitants; I should imagine one third of the number to be nearer the truth. When I was there they were reduced to three hundred thousand, of whom two parts were Mahomedans, and the rest Hindoos.

During the reign of Shah Jehan, his sons, Morad and Aurungzebe, successively enjoyed the soubahship of Guzerat, and kept a splendid court at Ahmedabad, which they greatly improved, and there fostered all the arts of peace. The Mogul emperors from Akber to Aurungzebe, who died in 1707, although fond of foreign conquests, and of humbling other princes, in their own dominions encouraged agriculture and commerce, patronized the arts and sciences, and distributed impartial justice, to the best of

their abilities, in the remotest districts of their extensive empire. In their days arose those magnificent structures which now adorn the northern cities of Hindostan; the palaces, aqueducts, and mausoleums lately described, were all erected by those emperors; and Shah Jehan, who built the summer-palace on the banks of the Sabermatty, erected the Taje Mahal at Agra, in memory of a favourite Sultana, which is still the wonder of the eastern world.

The most splendid palaces at Ahmedabad were in too ruinous a state during my visit to furnish a sufficient description; but to give some idea of these structures in the time of the imperial princes, I shall mention the dewané khass, one of the halls in the palace of Shah Allum, described by Francklin; which, although repeatedly stripped and plundered by successive invaders, still retains great beauty. "This building is a hundred and fifty feet in length, by forty in breadth. The roof is flat, supported by numerous columns of fine white marble, which have been richly ornamented with inlaid flowered work of different coloured stones. The cornices and borders have been decorated with a frize and sculptured work. The cieling was formerly incrusted with a rich foliage of silver, throughout its whole extent; and the delicacy of the inlaying in the compartments of the walls is much to be admired. Around the exterior of the dewan khass, in the cornice, are the following lines, written in letters of gold, upon a ground of white marble: "*If there be a paradise upon earth this is it; it is this; it is this!*" The terrace of this building is composed of large slabs of marble, and the whole is crowned at top with four cupolas of the same material. The royal baths built by Shah Jehan near the

dewan khass, consisting of three large rooms, surmounted by domes of white marble, are lined with the same, and ornamented with beautiful borders of flowers, worked with cornelians, and other stones."

During the splendid reigns of the imperial house of Timur, we behold despotism in rather an engaging form; in cultivating the arts of peace, she assumes her mildest aspect; yet absolute power, in its best estate, must be attended with many unhappy consequences. A prince, who wishes to rule with clemency, rarely has it in his power. Shortly after the royal diadem adorns his brow, some confederacy is formed against him, by sons, brothers, or near relations, and he thinks himself under the necessity of putting them to death, or depriving them of sight, to prevent his own destruction from a successor who is too soon to feel the thorns so thickly intermingled with the roses of royalty.

These horrid crimes cast a gloom over oriental annals; history paints the way to the musnud through a sea of blood; yet, after being firmly established, the Mogul princes in general governed well. No monarch ever ascended a more sanguinary throne than Aurungzebe; we start with horror at the treatment of his aged father, and the cruel fate of his wretched brothers; but when these obstacles were removed, few sovereigns have displayed (except in his bigotted persecution of the Hindoos) more justice and clemency than Aurungzebe, during a long reign of fifty years: many parts of his character form a pattern for sovereigns in milder governments. But since the usurpations in the empire, the invasion of Nadir Shah, and the conquests of the Mahrattas, which

commenced under Sevajee, during the reign of Aurungzebe, very few traces of his excellent regulations exist; we can only lament over their ruins.

I shall not attempt a detail of the cruel oppressions and mean advantages of the Mahratta pundits and governors, now dispersed throughout Guzerat, and occupying these magnificent remains of Mogul splendour. Their severe exactions have already rendered the district of Ahmedabad, once so flourishing and delightful, almost a desert; and thousands of industrious subjects are annually leaving it, to seek protection under milder governments.

I wish to write impartially, and not to paint despotism in a favourable light: to be hated by an Englishman, it needs but to be seen. Its frightful picture, drawn by the penetrating Montesquieu, must be confirmed by a slight observer of Asiatic tyranny. That admirable writer asserts, that " FEAR is the principle of all despotic governments; we are not to look for magnanimity among a timid spiritless people, where the prince cannot impart a greatness which he does not himself possess; for with him there is no such thing as glory. It is in monarchies we behold the subjects encircling the throne, and cheered by the irradiancy of the sovereign; there it is, that each person filling as it were a larger space, is capable of exercising those virtues which adorn the soul, not with independence, but with true dignity and greatness."

This is one of the distinctions in the Spirit of Laws between a limited monarchical, and a despotic government. Yet, in the present constitution of things, it must reluctantly be admitted

that the latter appears to be best adapted to the slavish minds of Asiatics; who are strangers to the noble sentiments which animate free-born souls, which impelled the ancient heroes of Greece and Rome to their magnanimous exertions; and which, in subsequent times, in our own country, have inspired a Hampden, and a Russel, and will still continue to inspire every real patriot in his struggle for the preservation of British freedom!

" And now
" Behold! while round the baleful storm extends,
" Behold our native land,
" The much-belov'd, the beauteous isle,
" In peace still rest, in beauty smile!
" Mid states in flames, and ruins, hurl'd,
" See England yet survive the world!

" From hardy sports, from manly schools,
" From Truth's pure lore in Learning's bow'r,
" From equal law, alike that rules
" The People's will, the Monarch's pow'r;
" From Piety, whose soul sincere
" Fears God, and knows no other fear;
" From Loyalty, whose high disdain
" Turns from the fawning, faithless train;
" From deeds, the Historian records shew,
" Valour's renown, and Freedom's glow;
" 'Tis hence, that springs th' unconquer'd fire,
" That bids to Glory's heights aspire.

" In Britain, still the Sage's aim,
" The scholar's toil, the statesman's fame,

" The flaming sword, are ready found
" To guard the Paradise around!

" Here, in their last retreat are seen
  " The peaceful arts, the classic muse,
" And heavenly Wisdom here her light serene,
  " Her holy calm does still diffuse!" W. Smith.

Engraved by J. Greig.

THE JUMMA MUSJIA, or Grand Mosque at AHMEDABAD.

Jam. Forbes. 1781.

Published by White, Cochrane & Co. Fleet Street, June 1st 1812.

Engraved by J. Storer.

SHAH BHAUG, a Summer Palace built by the Emperor SHAH JEHAN, on the Banks of the SABERMATTY.

Jam. Forbes, 1781.

Published by White, Cochrane & Co. Fleet Street. June 1st 1812.

CHAPTER XXXI.

JOURNEY FROM AHMEDABAD TO CAMBAY;

CHARACTER OF THE NABOB;

ANECDOTES OF THE MOGULS AND OTHER MAHOMEDANS

ILLUSTRATED FROM SACRED HISTORY.

1781.

"Ah! what avail thy consecrated floods,
Thy citron breezes and thy palmy woods;
What though the cassia breathes along thy shore,
And trickling manna adds its essenc'd store;
Though gums balsamic in thy valleys grow,
And fragrant spices on thy borders glow!—
These choicest blessings a strong balance find
In one broad curse that seizes on thy kind:
For stern Oppression rules thy fruitful plains,
O'er thy devoted land a tyrant reigns!"

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CHAPTER XXXI.

We left Ahmedabad at day-break, on the 8th of May; some refreshing showers had fallen the preceding evening which laid the dust, and arrayed every object with a lovely *verdure*. This may appear a trifling circumstance in Europe, but it affords an unspeakable pleasure to a traveller in the torrid zone, and at this season of the year is very unusual.

The costly mosques and mausoleums at Peerana, a sacred spot, seven miles from Ahmedabad, detained us a considerable time. These tombs are of white marble, adorned with ostriches' eggs, rows of false pearl, and wreaths of flowers. The walls, pillars, and domes of the mouldering edifices which contain them, are inlaid with small looking-glasses, agates, and cornelians, more gaudy than elegant, and very inferior to the shrines at Bettwah; although these, from having been erected to the memory of mahomedan saints, are held in higher veneration. The tracery of the windows is extremely neat, and filled with stained glass from Europe, in the manner of our cathedrals.

From Peerana we rode five miles through a pleasant country to the banks of the Sabermatty, forded its shallow stream, and conti-

nued our journey to Dolcah, a large town eighteen miles from Ahmedabad, where the offer of a summer-palace, surrounded by a charming garden, fountains, and groves of fruit-trees, tempted us to remain till the next morning.

Dolcah, a cusbah or town, inhabited by landholders on military tenure, is four miles in circuit, not fortified, but surrounded by a mud wall; the gates are strong, and the town furnishes twenty thousand Cusbattees, who form a sort of equestrian militia; many of them are warlike, of good family, and men of property. Dolcah is celebrated for several spacious tanks lined with stone: one of them is adorned with an island and bridge like that at Kokarea. Near these lakes are several ruined palaces, mosques, and tombs, once splendid and beautiful. The surrounding country was cultivated in large enclosures, planted with mango, tamarind, and kirney trees. In times of tranquillity the Dolcah purgunna yields a revenue of eight lacs of rupees, but the Coolies and Cotties already mentioned were then so very troublesome, that cultivation only flourished near the towns; the distant plains were assuming the appearance of a forest overrun with a variety of game. The inhabitants of Dolcah assured us that their farmers and ploughmen were attended by warriors to keep off the banditti; and near every village we found centinels stationed on the highest trees to give notice of their approach. As soon as a watchman discovers a troop of Cotties he blows a horn, or makes a loud cry, which is perfectly understood both by the peasants and cattle; this is repeated by other centinels, and in a few minutes the whole country is alarmed; swains, flocks, and herds hastily retreat to the villages, always surrounded by mud walls or strong milk-bush hedges,

and sometimes both. They are occasionally surprised, and these marauders have been known to drive off two or three thousand cattle at a time. The villagers, armed with bows and arrows, attack the Cotties when their numbers are not too formidable; but the latter being always on horseback have greatly the advantage. On account of these predatory incursions, our little escort of cavalry and Arabs, with the necessary attendants, generally occasioned an alarm as we travelled through the country.

Early the next morning we left Dolcah, recrossed the Sabermatty at Angolah, and reached the village of Bursora, fifteen miles from Dolcah, before the heat of the day. Here we pitched our tents, and remained during the sultry hours. In the evening a ride of twelve miles, over an open cultivated plain, brought us to the gates of Cambay; the distance from thence to Ahmedabad, either by Kairah as we went, or by Dolcah our returning route, distinguished by the upper or lower road, is only fifty miles.

On both roads I had an opportunity of revisiting the site of our encampments on the plains of Naranseer, and the garden-houses where we resided at head-quarters during the campaign in Guzerat: some of those summer palaces were very beautiful, both in situation and architecture. The nabob did not occupy any of them; he spent his retired hours entirely at Dil Gusha, or Heart-Expanding, a more favourite retreat. Most of those summer-houses are of a slight construction, and, like those in the chief's garden at Baroche, are divided into three pavilions, at a considerable distance from each other, with canals, fountains, and flower-gardens in the intermediate space. They are generally surrounded by sloping verandas and purdoes, or wet hangings of gunnies, a

sort of cotton sackcloth, to keep them cool; while the palaces in cities are built of strong masonry, and ornamented at great expense; and palaces, villas, and mosques, are often named after their principal embellishments: thus at Baroche and Ahmedabad are the Ivory and Silver Mosques; the Fountain of Pleasure, the Garden of Delight, and many similar appellations distinguish the villas of the moguls. In the destruction of Samaria, we read in the prophet Amos: "I will smite the winter-house with the summer-house, and the houses of ivory shall perish, and the great houses shall have an end."

In the Ayeen Akbery we read of a house in the city of Cuttek which consisted of nine stories; the first for the elephants, camels, and horses; the second for the artillery and military stores, on which were also quarters for the guards and other attendants; the third story was occupied by the porters and watchmen; the fourth was appropriated for the several artificers; the kitchens made the fifth range; the sixth contained the rajah's public apartments; the seventh was for the transaction of private business; in the eighth the women resided; and the ninth was the rajah's sleeping apartments. This palace was built by rajah Mucund Deo, and contiguous to it stood a very ancient Hindoo temple.

At Surat I mentioned one of the nabob's gardens, which he called *Alla Bauhg*, or the "Garden of God;" but his subjects, who had been grievously oppressed to procure his highness this beautiful retreat, named it *Zulam Bauhg*, "the Garden of Oppression." I fear that appellation would be applicable to most of the palaces belonging to the Cambay nabob, who ruled his people with a rod of iron, and was guilty of the most cruel exactions.

"Mild equal rule, the government of laws,
"And all-protecting Freedom, which alone
"Sustains the name and dignity of man,
"These are not theirs!" THOMSON.

After leaving Cambay I had occasion to correspond with our kind host the vizier Mirza Zummaun, when in disgrace, and barbarously treated by the nabob his ungrateful master; his letters were interesting and pathetic: I insert one as a specimen. It was in answer to a letter of mingled condolence and congratulation which I had written to him at the French-gardens in Surat, whither he had escaped from the nabob's tyranny, under the protection of Sir Charles Malet, then the English resident at the nabob's court, who made the most generous exertions in behalf of the unfortunate Persian, at the moment when the mute and bow-string, or some species of murder equally private and expeditious, awaited him in the nabob's durbar. With the letter I had sent him a drawing which he had requested of the Temple of Fountains, at Dilgusha, which is the picture the vizier alludes to in the following letter.

Translation of a Persian Letter from Mirza Zummaun, late Vizier at Cambay, to James Forbes, Esq. dated from the French Gardens at Surat, 17th March, 1782.

[After the usual Oriental compliments]

"You keep an eye of pity and of favour on your friend Mirza Zummaun; for this may Alla protect you, bless you with health, and shower down upon you the dew-drops of felicity. May all

my wishes for your happiness in this life be fulfilled, until you arrive at the celestial paradise!

"Your kind letter reached me in good time, and afforded a gleam of pleasure to my sorrowful heart. I rejoice at your health, and most sincerely thank you for condoling with me in my misfortunes; it convinces me that there are still men in the world who do not forget a friend in adversity. I cannot tell you what I have suffered from the nabob of Cambay, who in his heart is not a friend to the English, notwithstanding his outward appearance. I always regarded them; and the more I knew of them, day by day, the more my friendship increased: this his highness did not approve; it was one cause among many others for my disgrace, and at length for his determined resolution to take away my life: but life and death are in the hands of God! without his permission my death was not to happen. Our excellent friend the English resident, on receiving intelligence of my misfortune, instantly flew to the durbar and rescued me from the power of the wicked.

"The vessel that has a good pilot fears no storm; in the raging tempest what can happen to her? Such a safeguard, such a protector is our exalted friend! he came to save my life in the most critical moment of my existence: had his exertions been delayed a few minutes all would have been too late. Thanks be to God who pointed out his path, and caused him to bring safety to my soul.

"I have received the picture; the Temple of the Fountains, as you observe, will fill my mind with mingled sensations. When I look at that beautiful drawing it will remind me of the happy hours I spent there with my friends; it will also recal to my remembrance an ungrateful and perfidious prince, who loaded me with favours

and overwhelmed me with disgrace. I am made happy by this act of your kindness. I pray to Alla to keep you in health and wisdom! what can I say more?"

Among the attendants of the Cambay nabob, as also at Surat and other places, are several Abyssinian and Caffree slaves, called by way of courtesy Seddees, or Master. They are often promoted to great honours, richly apparelled, and furnished with horses, arms, and servants. This is customary among the Moguls, Turks, Persians, and Arabians, and especially the Mamelukes in Egypt, most of whom have ascended to their eminence from such an origin, as the name, signifying "purchased," or "property," implies. The slaves who conduct themselves well find their chains light, are treated like near relatives, and are admitted to great confidence; they often obtain their freedom, and marry their masters' daughters. The mahomedans in general treat their slaves with humanity, and by kind attentions render their servitude easy and comfortable; nor have those purchased by the English in India much reason to complain of their lot; they experience very different treatment from that of their African brethren in the West Indies. No cruel taskmasters and overseers increase the hardships of bondage; they are all household servants, often confidential domestic friends, and never employed in agriculture or laborious work. With the Dutch in India indeed their condition is not so pleasant; but the most unfortunate of all are those who fall into the hands of the native Portugueze, generally a worthless race, treating their helpless captives with excessive cruelty.

After all, we must say with Sterne, " disguise thyself as thou

wilt, still, Slavery, thou art a bitter draught!" Whether the titled slave is a favourite of royalty, clothed with purple and fine linen, and faring sumptuously every day, or whether like my little Anjengo captives, their wardrobe and monthly sustenance amount only to a few rupees, still the tender ties of parental, filial, and fraternal affection are dissolved; all the domestic pleasures of youth destroyed, and many other painful deprivations accompany the galling chain: such must be the case of slavery even in its best estate. I have witnessed the cruel treatment of the Portugueze slaves in the plantations of South America, and conversed with slaves who filled a high station in India: the latter, no doubt, have most reason to be satisfied; but an English cottager is a happier man. Liberty is his birthright, it sweetens the most homely meal, and gives a zest to every enjoyment, beyond all the favours which an imperial despot can lavish on his fettered minion.

I know not where to find a more just portrait of an Asiatic sovereign than that presented by a young man to Darius, king of Persia, as it was delivered to the monarch himself when surrounded by all the princes, governors, and chief officers of Persia and Media. It certainly was not intended to display despotism in its worst light, but rather to represent the great king in the fairest point of view. I introduce it as a true picture of an Asiatic prince at this day, and of one far more amiable than the nabob of Cambay.

" O ye men, do not men excel in strength, that bear rule over sea and land, and all things in them? But yet the king is more mighty, for he is lord of all these things, and hath dominion over them; and whatsoever he commandeth them they do. If he bid them make war one against another they do it; if he send them

out against the enemies, they go and break down mountains, walls, and towers; they slay and are slain, and transgress not the king's commandments; if they get the victory they bring all to the king; as well the spoil as all things else. Likewise for those that are no soldiers, and have not to do with wars, but use husbandry, when they have reaped that which they had sown, they bring it to the king. If he command to kill, they kill; if he command to spare, they spare; if he command to smite, they smite; if he command to make desolate, they make desolate; if he command to build, they build; if he command to cut down, they cut down; if he command to plant, they plant. So all his people and his armies obey him, and yet he is but one man! furthermore he eateth and drinketh and taketh his rest!" ESDRAS.

If such is the portrait of despotism in its best estate, what must it be in the hands of a wicked and cruel tyrant? It is painful to remark, but I believe it will be allowed by those who have been in similar situations with myself as collectors of the revenues, that the mildness and equity of the English laws, the forbearance and humanity of our national character, do not always, nor indeed generally, produce the desired effects in Hindostan. I found it so in the revenue department at Dhuboy. The severe and oppressive measures which the people had been accustomed to under their former governors were more efficacious. Fear is the operative principle; coercion seems necessary in all ranks, from the zemindar to the lowest tandar or patell in the purgunna; the lenity and kindness shown to those immediately connected with the durbar, never to my knowledge produced a return of benevolence in the conduct of the zemindars towards their inferiors. The chain of

oppression continued unbroken from the top to the bottom. It is I believe a true observation, that no masters are more tyrannical than those who have been slaves themselves; few servants in a free country prefer living with a master or mistress who had themselves been in a state of servitude. Among the oppressions complained of by Nehemiah, under the government of Artaxerxes, he says that not only the governors but even their servants bare rule over the people, and made cruel exactions. Thus it is at this day throughout India; it extends from the savage punishment which I mentioned to have been inflicted on a man of high rank by the prince of Scindy, down to the village patell, who does not acquiesce in the payment of the sum extorted from him by the oppressive zemindars.

As to slavery literally so called, in Asia it is of various kinds. The female slaves brought to the Indian courts from Georgia and Circassia, are in very high estimation. I have seen some of these reputed beauties, and others from Armenia or the northern parts of Persia: they were generally fair, with dark eyes and clear complexions; in youth possessing that rich style of beauty so much admired in Persian and Arabian tales. The male slaves generally preferred by the Persians and Moguls in India are brought from Abyssinia and the eastern coast of Africa.

In the northern provinces it is not so common to have slaves in Hindoo families as in the Mysore and Malabar dominions; there they are very much employed, especially in cultivation. I believe most of the tribes of Pooleahs and Pariars in Malabar are considered as slaves. Dr. Buchanan observes, that in Malayala, in the south of Malabar, the usual price of a young man and his wife is

from six to seven pounds, if they have two young children it increases their value to nine or ten pounds; and with four or five children, two of whom are beginning to work, the family will produce altogether from fourteen to fifteen pounds; this was at Palu-Ghat: at Manapuram, in its vicinity, children sell from eight to twenty-one shillings a-head, according to their growth. This appears a small sum for the purchase of a slave, but they are as cheap in many other parts of the world. Chardin says the Tartars sold their Polish prisoners for a crown a-head; and the prophet Joel, in describing the miserable captivity of the Jews, says, the children of Jerusalem have ye sold to the Grecians; they gave a boy for an harlot, and sold a girl for a drink of wine.

The number of poor people who come down to Anjengo and the other sea-ports from the inland countries, during a famine, either to sell themselves, or to dispose of their children as slaves, is astonishing. During my residence at Anjengo there was no famine, nor any unusual scarcity of grain, but during the rainy season many were weekly brought down from the mountains to be sold on the coast. They did not appear to think it so great a hardship as we imagine; what may be their usual degrees of filial and parental affection I pretend not to determine, neither can I ascertain the Malabar ideas annexed to dulce-domum, and the charities of domestic life; but, without the smallest intention of countenancing West India slavery, I must and do think the feelings of a Malabar peasant and those of a cottage family in England are very different; the former certainly part with their children apparently with very little compunction, the latter are united by every tender sympathetic tie. We know that it is no unusual thing for people to

sell themselves for bread in eastern countries; it has been practised from the time of Joseph until the present period. The Egyptians sold themselves and their possessions to Pharaoh, to save their lives during a grievous famine; and in the code of Hindoo laws is a provision for the poor wretches who from the same cause might be reduced to the same dreadful necessity. "Whoever having re-"ceived his victuals from a person during the time of a famine, and "hath become his slave, upon giving to his provider whatever "he received from him during the time of the famine, and also "two head of cattle, may become free from his servitude." Respecting this kind of slavery among the Jews, the Mosaical law, with the sweetest breathings of humanity, thus enjoins the Israelites: "If thy brother that dwelleth by thee be waxen poor, and be sold "unto thee, he shall serve thee unto the year of jubilee; and then "shall he depart from thee, both he and his children with him, and "shall return unto his family; and unto the possession of his fa-"thers shall he return: for they are my servants which I brought "forth out of the land of Egypt; they shall not be sold as bond-"men."

During our stay at Cambay the nabob invited us to pass an evening at a summer palace, called Dil-Gusha, which means the *Heart's Delight,* literally the exhilaration or expansion of the heart; a name in the Persian language somewhat synonimous to *Sans-Souci*, the favourite retreat of Frederick, king of Prussia; although in all respects on a more limited scale than that royal residence, which I have since visited. Dil-Gusha is contiguous to the city, and being the spot in which the nabob then most delighted, the pavilions and gardens were kept in good order, while his other

villas were entirely neglected. The principal building at Dil-Gusha consists of two octagon halls, on the northern terrace of an upper garden; from thence a flight of steps leads to the lower garden near a lake, containing the zenana and private apartments, where no strangers intruded; at the south end of the upper garden is another pavilion with a flat roof, commanding an extensive view over the gulph of Cambay, on which the nabob generally entertained his evening visitors.

The size of these gardens does not admit much variety in the walks and shrubberies; choice trees and shrubs border a narrow canal between the pavilions, adorned with a number of small fountains; the centre of the canal expands round an octagon marble temple of a singular construction; each perforated column contains a leaden pipe, which conveys water to the roof of the temple, where from eight fountains round the dome it falls over the projecting architrave on screens of sweet-scented khusa-grass, and gently trickling through the matted verdure renders the internal atmosphere delightful. Imagination can hardly form a more luxurious regale in the torrid zone than to repose in a temple of fountains, lulled by the notes of bulbuls in the surrounding groves.

This retreat affords a charming alleviation to the heat of a tropical day. The evening, as already mentioned, has its peculiar delights. The rays of Cynthia give a softened beauty to the gardens; the shrubs and flowers emit a double perfume, and the lordly champach fills the air with fragrance. Then, or rather at early dawn, is realized the address of the damsel in a vernal morning to the love-sick Rhada, elegantly translated by Sir William Jones:

"The gale that has wantoned round the beautiful clove-plants, breathes now from the hills of Malaya; the circling arbors resound with the notes of the cocil, and the murmurs of honey-making swarms. Now the hearts of damsels whose lovers travel at a distance are pierced with anguish, while the blossoms of *bacul* are conspicuous among the flowers covered with bees. The *tamala*, with leaves dark and odorous, claims a tribute from the musk which it vanquishes; and the clustering flowers of the *palasa* resemble the nails of CAMA, with which he rends the hearts of the young. The full blown *césara* gleams like the sceptre of the world's monarch, Love; and the pointed thyrse of the *cetaca* resembles the darts by which lovers are wounded. See the bunches of *patali* flowers filled with bees, like the quiver of SMARA full of shafts; while the tender blossom of the *caruna* smiles to see the whole world laying shame aside. The far-scented *madhavi* beautifies the trees round which it twines; and the fresh *mallica* seduces, with rich perfume, even the hearts of hermits; while the *amra*-tree with blooming tresses is embraced by the gay creeper *attimucta*, and the blue streams of Yamuna wind round the groves of *Vrindavan*. In this charming season, which gives pain to separated lovers, young Heri sports and dances with a company of damsels. A breeze like the breath of love, from the fragrant flowers of the *cétaca* kindles every heart, whilst it perfumes the woods with the dust which it shakes from the *mallicá* with half opened buds; and the *cocila* bursts into song when he sees the blossoms glistening on the lovely *rosálá*."

Most of the royal gardens in India have an appropriate name, and frequently an inscription over the portal in Persian poetry,

hyperbolically descriptive of their attractions. The following specimen is taken from the entrance of a garden, made by the emperor Aurungzebe at Noorabad, on the banks of the river Zank.

"This garden was planted by the king Alungeer,
"Whose universal bounty rivals that of the sun, in all his splendor:
"When he demanded a sentence to denote its date
"An invisible voice replied, thou hast seen the GARDEN OF BEAUTY."
A. Hej. 1077.

Something similar to the temple of fountains at Dil-Gusha is thus fabled in the gardens of Indra, introduced in the Curse of Kehama.

Within the temple on his golden throne
Reclin'd, Kehama lies,
Watching with steady eyes
The perfum'd light, that burning bright
Metes out the passing hours.
On either side his eunuchs stand,
Freshening with fans of peacocks' plumes the air;
Which, redolent of all rich gums and flowers,
Seems overcharg'd with sweets to stagnate there.

After a recreation in the garden, the nabob accompanied us to the roof of the pavilion, where music and dancing-girls awaited us. Fire-works on the canal illuminated its fragrant borders, and exhibited a curious scene of alternate fountains, playing fire and water, falling among shrubs and flowers. The supper, similar to that at the vizier's, consisted of various rich dishes; the different sherbets were improved by spices and rose-water. The nabob was affable and polite, helped us himself from the best dishes, and kept up a sprightly conversation. On our taking leave he sprinkled us with

ottar of roses; and, agreeably to the custom of Asiatic princes, presented to each betel, shawls, and kincobs.

It is not easy to give a literal translation of the dancing-girls' songs, but as they were superior to any I had heard before, I attempted an imitation from the communication of a friend, who understood the language, and had been accustomed to these entertainments. Were I favoured by the muse of Hafiz, I would not introduce them in humble prose.

A SONG OF ROSHAN, OR ROXANA:

A FEMALE APPELLATION SIGNIFYING SPLENDOR.

When, oh my beloved! wilt thou return? delight of my heart, and treasure of my soul, oh! when wilt thou appear to bless thy Roxana? In vain do I wait thy approach; thou comest not to thy love: mine eyelids are weary in watching thy footsteps. The sofa of my beloved is decked with garlands of mogrees, overshadowed by a canopy of jessamin. I have strewed it with the sweet dust of Keurah, and perfumed it with ottar of roses: I am scented with the oils of lahore, and tinged with the blossoms of hinna; haste then, my beloved, to thine handmaid, gladden her heart by thy presence!

A SONG OF SELIMA.

Abdallah! lamp of my life and possessor of my heart; my first, my only love! In vain do I call upon thee, thou art afar off; thou hearest not the voice of thy Selima, once the most favoured of thy slaves!

Abdallah! my king! my love! thou hast decked me with dia-

monds of Golconda, and covered me with pearls of Ormuz;—what are diamonds and pearls to her that is forsaken? the jewel most prized by thy Selima is no longer her own—give me thy heart, my beloved, restore it to its first possessor!

The shawls of Cassimer and the silks of Iran presented by my lord, have no longer any charms for thy Selima; thy palace, thy baths, thy gardens delight me no more; take them again; what are they all, compared with the heart of my Abdalla? O give me thy heart, my beloved, restore it to its first possessor!

The gardens and groves, once the fond retreat of thy Selima, afford me no pleasure; the mango and pomegranate tempt me in vain! The fragrance of champahs and odour of spices I no longer enjoy;—my damsels delight me no more, and music ceases to charm. Return, oh my lord, to thine handmaid, restore her thy heart, and every pleasure will accompany it; O, give thy heart to thy Selima, restore it to its first possessor!

The Persians and Moguls whom we met at these parties seemed fond of poetry, and one of them was favoured by a plaintive muse. The orientals allow the Europeans to excel in history, philosophy, and ethics, but suppose we have very little taste for poetry, especially odes, in the style of Sappho, Anacreon, and Hafiz, of which they are extremely fond. On a person of rank making this remark to Sir Charles Malet, who accompanied us on this visit, he assured him to the contrary. Being master of the Persian language, he made the following stanzas extempore, and immediately translated them into Persian poetry, to the admi-

ration of our oriental friends. They were addressed to the myrtle, a tree equally esteemed by Europeans and Asiatics.

EXTEMPORE LINES ON THE MYRTLE.

"Favourite tree of beauty's queen,
"Ever fragrant, ever green,
"With thy foliage form a grove,
"Sacred to the maid I love.

"There, encircled in her arms,
"Free from all but love's alarms,
"Let me revel, toy, and play,
"And fondly love my life away."

The fruit, flowers, spices, and perfumes, introduced at these entertainments, exercised the talents of the Mogul and Persian youth. We had several pleasant specimens of their genius during the evening in little odes, distichs, and other effusions of poetry. The splendor of the moon, the fragrance from the garden, the elegance of the dancers, and the beauty of their songs, afforded the subjects. I have preserved several which were written at the moment, by a young Shah-zadah, who committed them to paper as they were composed, in a most elegant style of penmanship; which, on fine Indian paper, flowered in silver and spotted with gold, contrasted by the strong Persian letters, produces a beautiful effect.

Distichs and poetical effusions are sometimes written upon the leaves of plants and flowers; this was not practised on the present occasion. D'Herbelot mentions it, but leaves us at a loss to guess what kind of myrtle afforded a leaf sufficiently large, in his curious anecdote of Kessai and Al Mamon, the son of the famous Khaliff

Haroun al Rascheed, a conspicuous character in the Arabian Nights' Entertainment: "Kessai one day presented himself at the door of the apartment of Al Mamon, to read one of his lectures; the prince, who was then at table with his companions, wrote him a distich upon a leaf of myrtle; the sense of which was, There is a time for study, and a time for diversion: this is an hour I have destined for the enjoyment of friends, wine, roses, and myrtle. Kessai having read this distich, answered it upon the back of the same myrtle leaf in four lines; the meaning of them as follows: If you had understood the excellence of knowledge, you would have preferred the pleasure that gives, to what you at present enjoy in company; and if you knew who it is that is at your door, you would immediately rise, and come and prostrate yourself on the ground, praising and thanking God for the favour he had bestowed upon you. Al Mamon had no sooner heard these verses than he quitted his company, and came to his preceptor."

How happily does this anecdote illustrate that passage in the "Wisdom of Solomon," where the folly of inconsiderate youth is thus represented: "Come on therefore, let us enjoy the good things that are present; let us fill ourselves with costly wine and ointments; and let no flower of the spring pass by us: let us crown ourselves with rose-buds before they be withered."

Similar sentiments prevail in most oriental writings, ancient and modern: the Greek poets were equally fond of them. I shall not introduce the productions of this evening, composed from present objects, not so generally interesting as the following lines, which I have selected from two celebrated Persian poets, as a more complete specimen of the elegant recreation I allude to.

STANZAS OF A SONNET, BY SADI.

Strike, strike the lyre ! let music tell
The blessings Spring shall scatter round :
Fragrance shall float on every gale,
And opening flow'rets paint the ground.

Oh ! I have past whole nights in sighs,
Condemn'd the absent fair to mourn ;
But she appears—and sorrow flies,
And pleasure smiles on her return.

The following distichs are of a more serious nature, but the mahomedans in general affect piety and morality, and the allusion of the pearls formed from tears, in the last line, is taken from an idea common among the Asiatics, that the pearls found in certain shell-fish are produced from drops of rain-water which they imbibe.

"Who made manifest the vital and intellectual powers ?
Who confirmed the foundation of understanding ?

Who, into the form of the human frame, breathed his animating spirit ?
Who bestowed reason, and inspir'd the soul ?

Who painted with lively colours the cheek of the tulip,
And made of the dew-drop an ornament for the rose-bud ?

Who crowned the summit of the heavens with a diadem of constellations,
And ting'd the hard bosom of the ruby with a vivid glow ?

Who enkindled the fire of the moon as a nocturnal lamp ;
And perfum'd the flower-garden with the fragrance of burning incense ?

Who spread out the earth on the face of the water,
And form'd precious pearls from the tears of the clouds ?"

Such were the entertainments we received from the nabob of Cambay and his vizier, in the true style of Persian elegance and

hospitality. As a further illustration of an oriental feast, Dr. Fryer has added some other particulars, curious and entertaining. "On alighting at the host's, the company are introduced into the guest-chamber, all bestrewed with flowers and sweet herbs, besides perfumed with odoriferous gums, or the aloe's wood alone, or other resinous matters made into candles, and in massy silver fuming pots, very costly and delicate, leaving their slippers where they begin to tread on carpets; they take their seats on susanees, a rich tapestry of needle-work that borders the carpets, behind which are placed huge velvet bolsters. They welcome you by a flood of rose-water, poured on your head and beard; then they bring in, in neat voiders, china plates of pistachios, walnuts, almonds, grapes, prunellas, dried apricots, and other sweetmeats, amidst whereof they pour out coffee, tea, and hot rose-water; and divert the company with mimics, stage-players, and dancers, between whose interludes is mixed the custom, as ancient as Nebuchadnezzar, of certain wise men repeating verses in their praise, or reading monuments of antiquity, which continues till victuals are brought in, and the cloth spread on the carpets. Water is first brought and ewers to wash; the courses are ushered in with music, and the servitors are placed so as to furnish every one with plates of the several varieties, which they place before each, and give them long wheaten cakes, both for napkin, trencher, and bread; also plenty of boiled rice: their most admired dainty is pillaw, wherewith they will fill themselves and receive no hurt, it being so well prepared for the stomach. After they have eaten well, and the cloth is removed, they wash again. The usual drink is sherbet, made of water, juice of lemons, and ambergris; most of them will freely take off their

bowls of wine, which are commonly of silver, and some of gold. When they have tired themselves with feasting, as they depart they return thanks, by inviting every one in course to an entertainment of the like nature, where they strive to outdo each other."

At the entertainment given us by the nabob, he was attended by the vizier and all his great officers; and from a latticed chamber the ladies of the haram (invisible to us) had a view of the European strangers. A part of his domestic establishment consists of professed story-tellers, called kissa kawn, a class of people well known to the admirers of Persian and Arabian tales: they have always been entertained by the oriental princes. Richardson, in his valuable dissertations on eastern manners, says, "professed story-tellers are there of ancient date; even at this day men of rank have usually one or more, male or female, among their attendants, who amuse them and their women, when melancholy, vexed, or indisposed; and they are generally employed to lull them to sleep. Many of their tales are highly amusing, especially those of Persian origin, or such as have been written on their model. They were thought so dangerous by Mohammed, that he expressly prohibited them in the Koran."

One of my friends, a former resident at Cambay, and a favourite of the nabob, being ill with a fever, which banished sleep and baffled the power of medicine, the nabob sent him two female story-tellers, of respectable Mogul families, but neither young nor handsome. Placing themselves on each side of his pillow, one of them in a monotonous tone commenced a tale, which in due time had a soporiferous effect: the patient enjoyed a slumber to which he had long been unaccustomed; when he awoke the story was

renewed exactly where it had left off. Thus these venerable dames relieved each other day and night, until by a charm more efficacious than the juice of poppies, they wrought a cure.

At these Cambay suppers I observed many striking resemblances to the manners and customs recorded by Homer and other ancient writers. The feasts of the Grecian bard are often counterparts of modern orientalism, and the entertainment and presents given by the governor of Egypt to the strangers from Canaan, is an exact picture of what constantly occurs in an Asiatic durbar; quotations would be endless; but there are many passages in scripture which might be illustrated by an attentive observer of modern manners, particularly in that beautiful and pathetic narrative of our blessed Redeemer, when a guest at the house of a rich Pharisee. There the penitent Mary comes with an alabaster box of precious ointment, to anoint the feet of her Saviour, and to wipe them with the hairs of her head. The proud host was astonished at this attention being permitted from a sinner; and although he did not express his sentiments upon the occasion, he internally passed sentence upon the humble female, little imagining that his thoughts were well known to a guest, who, though veiled in mortality, was the great Searcher of his heart, and knew all its motions. In formerly perusing this affecting relation I have been surprised at the admission of such a woman into the mansion of the Pharisee; but when I noticed the open halls and gardens in which the oriental feasts are given, the variety of strangers admitted, and the familiarities which I have seen them take, and have myself experienced, I cease to wonder, and am convinced that by a minute attention to scenes daily transacting before us, not only the present seeming

inconsistency, but many of far more importance, which have exercised the malignant wit of Voltaire and his disciples, might be pleasingly and effectually elucidated. It is notorious that ridicule is the principal instrument which the French philosopher makes use of to depreciate the gospel; with his success by means of this engine in his writings, conversation, and example, all Europe is unhappily but too well acquainted. I had an interesting conversation on this subject with the late Bishop Porteus after my return from captivity in France, when that excellent prelate wished to be particularly informed whether true religion, under whatever outward profession, had sprung up from the prostrate altars of the Gallican church to counteract the fatal effects of Voltaire's philosophy, concluding in language similar to that which he had more publicly delivered, "that Voltaire's writings had unquestionably produced more infidels among the higher classes, and spread more general corruption over the world, than the voluminous productions of all the other philosophists of Europe put together."

When the servants of Naaman made use of that beautiful exclamation, "My father! if the prophet had bid thee do some great thing, wouldest thou not have done it? how much rather then when he saith unto thee, Wash and be clean? If their master had then continued under the fatal influence of pride and anger, how wretched would have been his condition! how would he have continued to suffer under a shocking disease, which all the physicians of Damascus could not heal, nor the wealth and power of his situation alleviate. Such is the pride of man! To Voltaire's deluded followers, of what avail are those endearing words of truth and love, "Come unto me, all ye that labour, and are heavy laden, and

I will give you rest?" The invitation is too simple for self-confidence; until the spirit is humbled the heavenly manna is rejected by modern philosophers, as was the prescription of "Wash and be clean," by the Syrian general!

The fatal tendency of infidelity among the Europeans in India, especially the younger part of the community, has been mentioned. Bereft of parents and friends, we had none to address us in the language of the pious Gellert, the amiable professor of Leipsic: "O! if the testimony of a friend, of a tutor, can have any weight "with you; if mine, my dear young friends, can have any influence "over you, whenever any presumptuous reasoner would set you "against the doctrines of the holy scriptures; or when the infidel, "not knowing how to tranquillize his own mind, undertakes to "extinguish in yours a belief, the holiness of which confounds him, "O Christian youth, let him never find one amongst you, who may "dare to despise the most excellent of all books, and make it a "subject of raillery! Let the scriptures be at all times the object "of your veneration; it constitutes your happiness on earth, and "secures it in heaven!"

How does the invaluable advice of this excellent professor outweigh the sophistical reasoning of the royal philosopher of Sans Souci, in his memorable lines to Marshal Keith.

"De l'avenir, cher Keith, jugeons par le passé:
"Comme avant que je fusse il n'avoit point pensé;
"De même, après ma mort, quand toutes mes parties
"Par la corruption seront anéanties,
"Par un même destin il ne pensera plus!
"Non, rien n'est plus certain, soyons en convaincu."

I shall at present conclude the subject with the sentiments of the late earl of Charlemont: this illustrious nobleman preserved a lasting friendship with Hume, without the slightest deviation from those religious principles which he had the happiness early to imbibe.

"The celebrated David Hume, whose character is so deservedly high in the literary world, was secretary to the British plenipotentiary to his Sardinian majesty, when I was at the academy at Turin in 1749. He had then lately published those philosophical essays which have done so much mischief to mankind, by contributing to loosen the sacred bonds by which alone man can be restrained from rushing to his own destruction; and which are so intimately necessary to our nature, that a propensity to be bound by them was apparently instilled into the human mind by the all-wise Creator, as a balance against those passions, which, though perhaps necessary as incitements to activity, must, without such control, inevitably have hurried us to our ruin. The world, however, unconscious of its danger, greedily swallowed the bait. The essays were received with applause, read with delight, and their admired author was already, by public opinion, placed at the head of the dangerous school of sceptic philosophy."

From this digression I return to the oriental entertainments, which, if properly attended to, illustrate many passages in the sacred volume, not generally understood in Europe. The profusion at these feasts is very great. In the patriarchal age, Benjamin, as a mark of superior favour and distinction, had five times the quantity of food set before him that was allotted to his brethren, and more changes of raiment; so it is at this day, in the quality as well

as the quantity of food and raiment distributed to the guests, as I have often experienced, both among Hindoos and Mahomedans, especially in the marked distinction, in number and fineness of texture, in the shawls, muslin, and keemcobs, presented on public visits at a durbar. This distinction points out the different degrees of honour and respect due to the visitors. In the article of dress it seems to have more meaning than in that of food; at least so far as respects quantity; although even there, we must not form too hasty a conclusion. In richness and expense, the dishes placed before a great man may be far superior, and more acceptable to his palate; but in quantity, from various causes, he would perhaps consume less than a poor one. If we attend to the general economy of an Asiatic entertainment, we shall find that all is well done; no fragments remain; nothing is lost.

Our Saviour, illustrating a spiritual subject, says, a certain man made a great supper, and invited many suitable guests: on neglecting the invitation, the host sent his servant to tell them that his oxen and fatlings were killed, and every thing ready for their entertainment. When, after a second call, they all sent an excuse, the master of the house ordered his servants to go out quickly into the streets and lanes of the city, and to bring in the poor and the maimed, the halt and the blind; and to go into the high-ways and hedges, and compel them to come in, that his house might be filled. This is certainly very unlike the manners and customs of modern Europe: when we examine those of Asia in ancient and modern times, we shall find it literally fulfilled; the hospitality of the present day exactly resembles that of the remotest antiquity.

"A palace, wealth, and slaves I late possess'd,
And all that makes the great be call'd the bless'd:
My gate, an emblem of my open soul,
Embrac'd the poor, and dealt a bounteous dole.—
—For, taught by time, my heart has learn'd to glow
For others good, and melt at others woe!
—Who knows the son of sorrow to relieve
Cheers the sad heart, nor lets affliction grieve.
—————— it never was our guise
To slight the poor, or aught humane despise;
For Jove unfolds our hospitable door,
'Tis Jove that sends the stranger and the poor:
On all their weary ways wait Care and Pain,
And Pine and Penury, a meagre train.
Be then attentive: what we order heed;
This hapless stranger to the city lead:
By public bounty let him there be fed,
And bless the hand that stretches forth the bread.
To wipe the tears from all afflicted eyes,
The will may covet, what the power denies. Homer.

Such was the hospitality of ancient Greece; my own experience, and that of many other travellers, confirms the same customs among the modern Asiatics. Chardin writing on this subject says, among the Turks and Persians, at their meals "they do not in common make use of a table, or chairs; the floors of the houses are covered with mats, pieces of felt, or carpets. Among those who are at all opulent, there are, besides, embroidered or stitched coverings, four feet broad; and cushions placed against the wall to lean upon. All these things are embroidered with gold, among people of quality. When the provisions are served up, they spread a cloth, whose breadth and length is proportioned to the

hall, when it is full of people, and smaller when there are fewer persons; at the same time they serve up the provisions, beginning with the bread. In Turkey all eat together, and many out of one dish; and I apprehend the Turks do not consider it as forbidden and unlawful to eat with people of a different religion. It is otherwise in Persia, Arabia, and India; the people of these countries would think themselves defiled, and made impure, by being touched by people of a different faith, or by eating out of the same dish: it is for this reason I am of opinion, that they are wont to serve up every one's food by itself. A carver parts each dish into as many portions, put into different plates, as there are people to eat; which are placed before them. There are some houses where they place several plates in large salvers, either round, long, or square; and they set one of these before each person; or before two or three persons, according to the magnificence of the house. The great men of the state are always by themselves, and are served with greater profusion; their part of each kind of provision being always double, treble, or a larger proportion of each kind of meat, in the feasts that are made for them."

A passage in Dr. Pococke's Travels exactly illustrates the concluding circumstance in our Saviour's parable of the great man's supper; which was doubtless very familiar to the company assembled at the house of the chief Pharisee, whose guest he then was, and to whom he was making the application for a very different purpose. In Dr. Pococke's account of an entertainment made by the governor of an Egyptian village for the cashif, or chief of the district, with whom he travelled, he says, the custom was for

every one when he had done eating, to get up, wash his hands, and take a draught of water; and so in continual succession, until the poor came in, and ate up all; for the Arabs never set by any thing that is brought to table: when they kill a sheep, they dress it all; call in their neighbours, and the poor, and finish every thing. An Arab prince will often dine in the street before his door, and call to all that pass, even to beggars, in the usual expression of *Bismillah;* that is, in the name of God: these poor people then sit down, partake of the dinner, and when they have done, retire with the usual form of returning thanks.

The familiarity to which I alluded in another entertainment at a pharisee's house, where Mary uses the box of oitment, is not only common, but is far from being deemed either disrespectful or displeasing. During my visit at Cambay I usually wore a cornelian ring containing my name cut in Persian characters; which I used as a seal to official papers at Dhuboy. This being observed by the sciddees and nabob's attendants when we supped at his garden-house, they approached me with that sort of freedom I have just mentioned, not only to admire the ring, but to take it off my finger, and hand it round among each other, and to the servants of the vizier and noblemen present, exclaiming *Yacoob Forbés:* this was circulated, and by that appellation I found myself afterwards generally known and greeted throughout the city of Cambay.

Exclusive of the religious pleasure resulting from a perusal of the sacred scriptures, there is a peculiar satisfaction in comparing these ancient records with modern manners and customs in Hindostan. Until my journey to Cambay and Ahmedabad, I knew

but little of the higher classes in oriental society; whose mode of life constantly reminded me of similar representations in those authentic annals.

The Asiatic females, especially among the wealthy Moguls and Persians, are now exactly in the same situation as they were placed by a Persian monarch some thousand years ago; the story of Ahasuerus and Vashti is completely descriptive of modern orientalism. Here we behold an eastern monarch, in the zenith of power, reigning over an hundred and twenty-seven provinces, extending from India to Ethiopia; " making a feast unto all his princes and servants; the power of Persia and Media, the nobles and princes of the provinces being before him; when he shewed the riches of his glorious kingdom, and the honour of his excellent majesty, many days, even an hundred and fourscore days. When these days were expired the king made a feast unto all the people that were present in Shushan the palace, both unto great and small, seven days in the court of the garden of the king's palace; where were white, green, and blue hangings, fastened with cords of fine linen and purple to silver rings, and pillars of marble; the beds were of gold and silver, upon a pavement of red, and blue, and white, and black marble." This is exactly descriptive of a shahmyanah, or large canopy, spread upon lofty pillars, in the gardens and courts of the Mogul palaces, and attached by similar cords of various colours. Some of these awnings, belonging to the Indian emperors, were very costly and distinguished by various names; the most so was that called the bargah, mentioned in the Ayeen-Akbery, belonging to the emperor Akber; which was of such magnitude, as to contain ten thou-

sand persons; and the erecting of it employed one thousand men for a week, with the help of machines; one of these shahmyanahs, without any ornaments, cost ten thousand rupees.

I cannot illustrate what the beds of silver and gold were, from modern Asiatic furniture. The divan, or hall of audience, as also the room for receiving guests in private houses, is generally covered with a Persian carpet; round which are placed cushions of different shape and size, in cases of gold and silver kincob, or of scarlet cloth embroidered: these are occasionally moved into the courts and gardens, and placed under the shahmyanah, for the accommodation of company. Respecting another kind of bed mentioned in scripture, I think there can be little doubt, that it means the palanquin of Hindostan, or something very similar; in which the prince not only reclines, or sits in state in paying visits of ceremony, but the traveller also reposes during a journey, as if he were in his own bed. I have been in a situation nearly nine months together in which I not only travelled in my palanquin during the day, but slept in it every night, with the purdoe or curtain dropped round it; either in or out of a tent, under a shamyanah, or a banian-tree, as the weather permitted.

The words in Solomon's Song to which I allude, exactly describe the procession of an Indian prince in his palanquin, surrounded by his guards; "Who is this that cometh out of the wilderness, like pillars of smoke, perfumed with myrrh and frankincense, with all powders of the merchant? Behold the *bed*, which is Solomon's; three score valiant men are about it, of the valiant of Israel; they all hold swords, being expert in war; every man

hath his sword upon his thigh. King Solomon made himself a chariot of the wood of Lebanon; he made the pillars thereof of silver, the bottom thereof of gold, the covering of it of purple; the midst thereof being paved with love, for the daughters of Jerusalem." The latter part seems to correspond more with the hackeree, or Indian chariot, drawn by oxen, than the palanquin; the former having a canopy, or dome, covered with cloth or velvet, richly embroidered and fringed, supported by pillars, ornamented with silver and gold, often inlaid with sandal-wood and ivory; so is the bottom of the vehicle, or frame-work, raised above the wheels, which is here said to be paved with love.

The sacred historian proceeds to observe, that "the guests of Ahasuerus had their drink in vessels of gold, and royal wine in abundance, according to the state of the king: the drinking was according to law, none did compel; for so the king had appointed to all the officers of his house, that they should do acording to every man's pleasure. Also Vashti the queen made a feast for the women in the royal house, which belonged to king Ahasuerus. On the seventh day, when the heart of the king was merry with wine, he commanded the seven chamberlains that served in his presence, to bring Vashti the queen before the king with the crown royal, to shew the people and the princes her beauty, for she was fair to look upon. But the queen Vashti refused to come at the king's commandment by his chamberlains; therefore was the king very wroth, and his anger burned in him."

Here two circumstances are introduced very foreign to the manners of India, although one is perhaps not uncommon in

modern Persia; the drinking of wine in public, and the sending for the queen on such an occasion: her conduct in refusing to obey the command implies how indecorous and indelicate she considered it. For this mark of disobedience, the king said unto the wise men which knew the times, "what shall we do unto the queen, according to law, because she hath not performed the commandment of the king by the chamberlains? Memucan, one of the seven princes of Persia, who saw the king's face, and sat the first in the kingdom, answered before the king and the princes, Vashti the queen hath not done wrong to the king only, but also to all the princes, and to all the people that are in all the provinces of the king Ahasuerus: for this deed of the queen shall come abroad unto all women; so shall the ladies of Persia and Media despise their husbands in their eyes, when it shall be reported the king Ahasuerus commanded his queen to be brought before him, but she came not: thus shall there arise too much contempt and wrath. If it please the king, let there go forth a royal decree, and let it be written among the laws of the Persians and Medes, that it be not altered, that Vashti come no more before king Ahasuerus, and let the king give her royal estate unto another that is better than she. And when the king's decree shall be published throughout all his great empire, all the wives shall give to their husbands honour, both to great and small. And the saying pleased the king and the princes; and the king did according to the word of Memucan; for he sent letters into all the king's provinces, to every people after their language, that every man should bear rule in his own house; and that it should be published according to the language of every people."

Such is the condition of the Asiatic women in general at this day; their influence in society, their occupations and amusements I have already described. When a Hindoo, a Mogul, or a Parsee, marries, he knows exactly how the girl has been educated, what are the habits and customs of women in her situation of life, and can generally calculate with tolerable accuracy upon her future conduct. How opposite is this to Marmontel's character of a young Parisian; which, although perhaps too just a description, we readily allow is not without many amiable exceptions. "A Paris, comme la prétention de former á son gré le charac-"tére d'une jeune femme est la chimère de tous les maris, l'atten-"tion de toutes les mères est d'élever leurs filles dans un état de "reserve et de dissimulation qui ne laisse rien voir de décidé en "elles. Une fille á marier est dans le monde une espéce de chry-"salide jusqu'au moment qu'en déployant ses ailes, elle se change "en papillon."

The sequel of the history of Ahasuerus affords a most remarkable instance of the venality, corruption, and cruelty, of an oriental tyrant. This sovereign of Media and Persia, encircled by wealth, splendor, and power, accepts of ten thousand talents of silver, (offered by a nobleman whose pride was offended at the neglect of a foreigner), to issue a decree, by which some hundred thousand unfortunate captives dispersed throughout his extensive empire were commanded to be put to death. This picture of eastern cruelty and injustice, can be related in no language so simple and pathetic as that of the sacred historian.

After the repudiation of Vashti, and the marriage of Ahasuerus with Esther the niece of Mordecai the Jew, the king pro-

moted Haman, and set him above all the princes that were with him; and all the king's servants that were in the king's gate, bowed, and reverenced Haman, for the king had so commanded concerning him; but Mordecai bowed not, nor did him reverence: and when Haman saw that Mordecai bowed not, nor did him reverence, then was Haman full of wrath. And after he had been feasted at the royal banquet given by Esther the queen, he came home, and sent and called his friends, and Zeresh his wife. And Haman told them of the glory of his riches, and the multitude of his children, and all the things wherein the king had promoted him, and how he had advanced him above the princes and servants of the king. Haman said moreover, yea, Esther the queen did let no man come in with the king unto the banquet that she had prepared, but myself; yet all this availeth me nothing, so long as I see Mordecai the Jew *sitting* at the king's gate. Wherefore Haman sought to destroy all the Jews that were throughout the whole kingdom of Ahasuerus, even the people of Mordecai. And Haman said unto Ahasuerus, there is a certain people scattered abroad, and dispersed among the people in all the provinces of thy kingdom, and their laws are diverse from all people, neither keep they the king's laws, therefore it is not for the king's profit to suffer them; if it please the king, let it be written, that they may be destroyed; and I will pay ten thousand talents of silver to the hands of those who have the charge of the business, to bring it into the king's treasury. And the king took his ring from his hand, and gave it to Haman; and letters were sent into all the king's provinces, to destroy, to kill, and to cause to perish all Jews, both young and old, little children and women, in one day,

and to take the spoil of them for a prey. The copy of the writing was published in every province, unto all people, that they might be ready against that day; the posts went out, being hastened by the king's commandment; and the decree was given in Shushan the palace, in the name of Ahasuerus was it written, and sealed with the king's ring; and the king and Haman sat down to drink, but the city of Shushan was perplexed. And in every province, whithersoever the king's commandment and his decree came, there was great mourning among the Jews, and fasting, and weeping, and wailing; and many lay in sackcloth and ashes."

The prolongation of this story is foreign to my purpose. Under the controlling power of Providence, Haman passed the favourable decree on Mordecai, which he thought could be only intended for himself, as the man whom the king delighted to honour : "let the royal apparel be brought which the king useth to wear, and the horse that the king rideth upon, and the crown royal which is set upon his head; and let this apparel and horse be delivered to the hand of one of the king's most noble princes, that they may array the man withal whom the king delighteth to honour, and bring him on horseback through the street of the city, and proclaim before him, Thus shall it be done unto the man whom the king delighteth to honour. Then the king said to Haman, make haste, and take the apparel, and the horse, as thou hast said, and do even so to Mordecai the Jew, that sitteth at the king's gate. Let nothing fail of all that thou hast spoken. When Esther the queen informed Ahasuerus of Haman's wickedness, while he was sitting at the second royal banquet, the king arose in wrath, and went into the palace-garden; and Haman

stood up to make request for his life, to Esther the queen, for he saw that there was evil determined against him by the king. Then the king returned out of the palace-garden, into the place of the banquet of wine; and Haman was fallen upon the bed whereon Esther was; then said the king, will he force the queen also before me in the house? As the word went out of the king's mouth, they covered Haman's face. And Harbonah, one of the chamberlains, said before the king, behold also the gallows fifty cubits high, which Haman had made for Mordecai; then the king said, hang him thereon: so they hanged Haman on the gallows that he had prepared for Mordecai: then was the king's wrath pacified."

What a scene of tyranny, caprice, and injustice does this story present! it is too true a picture of what still passes in an Asiatic palace. Here also we see an exact description of the mode of conferring honour on the favourite of a sovereign; a princely dress, a horse, and a ring; these are now the usual presents to foreign ambassadors; such as I have seen exchanged between the Mahratta peshwa, and the nabob of Cambay: and presented to an English chief, or the commander of a British army. The taking off the signet from the royal finger, and affixing it to the decree; dispatching the halcarras, or posts, to the provinces, and several other preceding circumstances, are still constantly practised in an oriental durbar.

These frequent quotations from scripture, to illustrate the manners and customs of Hindostan, will I trust be excused. Gibbon the historian, although no friend to Christianity, has candidly acknowledged, that " if the sacred writings be considered but as

human productions, they deserve to be studied, as one of the most curious and original monuments of the East." And Granville Penn, a writer of a very different spirit from Gibbon, says, "that it is impossible for the utmost power of human industry and circumspection to gather in the harvest of sacred criticism so completely, as that here and there an ear should not remain behind for the gleaner who comes after; and it is with these, and no loftier pretensions, that such are now offered to the reader."

I had formerly the pleasure of being acquainted with a minister, well known in the literary world, now removed from works to rewards; a man of learning, talents, and eloquence; in conversation elegant, instructive, and delightful. Some of his friends thought his pulpit eloquence by no means corresponded with his private conversation, and were a little annoyed by the plainness and familiarity of his language. One of them remonstrating with him on this subject, the worthy minister, unwilling to pursue the argument, pulled the bell, and desired his servant to take down one, from a number of boxes, ranged in order, upon the upper shelf in the library; he did so indiscriminately. Like all the others, it contained the correspondence of a year: the minister requested the gentleman to peruse a few of the letters, while he finished some business in which he was engaged: after reading half a dozen, he exclaimed, "persevere, my valuable friend, in your present method of preaching; change not: and may your Great Master continue, as he has hitherto done, to bless your endeavours." I need hardly say, these were letters from persons under contrition, "sorrow, need, sickness, or some other adver-

sity," to whom his discourses, under the Divine benediction, had brought peace, comfort, and joy!

I have been requested by valuable friends not to suppress those quotations of scripture, first written in foreign lands and distant shores; and which they are pleased to think may now be a word in season:

Simul et jucunda et idonea discere vitæ. HORACE.

And join both profit and delight in one.

I shall take leave of Cambay, and the various entertainments I met with on my journey to Ahmedabad, with an extract from a Persian story, by Feridd'eddin Attar, inserted in the oriental collections, describing a magnificent banquet, which must certainly include every thing that can enter the warmest imagination.

"The painted representation of Persian feasts, which are to be found in some of their manuscripts, agrees with this poetical description. The prince, seated on a raised sofa or cushion, receives either from the hand of his princess, or of the young cup-bearer, a goblet of wine; the guests in turn are served round, the musicians are seated in a corner, and dancing women are represented in various attitudes. These feasts are sometimes celebrated during the hours of nocturnal coolness, on the flowery bank of a refreshing stream; where a thousand nightingales in the bordering rose-trees, join their voices to the melody of the chenk and barbut. Perfumes are scattered all around; and lovely nymphs, with faces bright as the moon, and ringlets black and fragrant

as musk, appear on every side. Attar concludes the description of this princely banquet with the following appeal to his reader. "All that can charm the ear, the pleasures of wine, the season of youth, full-blown roses, and the minstrels' songs,—wine and a purling stream,—soft moon-beams—the melody of the nightingale, and the clear light of torches, the faces of nymphs lovely as houries, and the fragrant breath of early morn,—when all these are combined, what more canst thou desire?"

I mentioned the taste of the Moguls and Persians at Cambay for poetry and the belles-lettres during an evening entertainment. The day following I was introduced to a brahmin, with whom I was agreeably surprised and very much delighted. He was intimate with Sir Charles Malet, and had profited by his acquaintance: he understood English, and having access to his friend's library, he read our books with great facility, and particularly studied a voluminous dictionary of arts and sciences, from whence he had acquired a fund of useful knowledge and a liberality of sentiment uncommon in his caste. He was fond of drawing, and had acquired a skill and judgment in that amusement beyond any native I ever met with; he presented me, on a further acquaintance, with fifty portraits of persons well known at Cambay and the adjacent country, high and low, of different tribes and religions, in their various costume and distinct character of countenance, together with drawings taken from the life of the most celebrated yogees, senassees, and other religious pilgrims, who frequented the Hindoo temples at Cambay.

I never met with a similar instance among the natives of India, nor with any one approaching it. Mr. Hunter, in a journey from

Agra to Oujein, relates a pleasing interview of this kind with the soubahdar of *Burwa-Sagur*.—" On our arrival we were agreeably surprised to receive from the soubahdar a present of cabbages, lettuce, celery, and other productions of an European garden. In the evening the soubahdar paid us a visit; he appeared to be about sixty years of age, rather below the middle stature; his countenance bespoke intelligence and his manners were pleasing. Having had occasion, on account of some bodily infirmity, to repair to the English station at *Kanhpoor* for medical assistance, he had contracted a relish for European manners and customs. He had discernment enough to perceive our superiority in arts and science over his countrymen, and possessing a spirit of liberal inquiry and an exemption from national prejudices, which is very uncommon among the natives of Hindostan, he was desirous of gaining a knowledge of our improvements. Next morning when we returned his visit, he received us in an upper room of the castle, which, instead of the *Hindoostaney Muslum*, was furnished with chairs and tables in the European manner. He shewed us several English books, among which was the second edition of the Encyclopædia Britannica. Of this he had got all the plates neatly copied by artists of his own. To get at the stores of science which these volumes contain, he had even at that advanced period of life formed the project of studying the English language. He expressed great anxiety to procure a teacher, or any book that could facilitate his pursuit, and was highly gratified by Lieutenant Macpherson presenting him a copy of Gilchrist's dictionary. He entertained us with several tunes on a hand-organ which he had got at Kanhpoor, and exhibited an electrical machine constructed by

a man in his own service. The cylinder was a common table-shade, with this he charged a phial, and gave pretty smart shocks, to the no small astonishment of those who were the subjects of his experiments, and of the spectators. As the weather was very dry, the operation succeeded remarkably well. He even proposed sensible queries on the nature of the electric fluid, and the parts of the phial in which the accumulation took place; as, whether in the glass or the coating, &c. which shewed that he did not look on the experiments with an eye of mere childish curiosity, which is amused with novelty, but had a desire to investigate the cause of the phenomena. I am sorry to add that this man, being about two years ago seized with some complaint which he considered as incurable, repaired to Benares, and there drowned himself in the Ganges."

On leaving Cambay we crossed the Myhi, and returned to Jamboseer by a different route, but not sufficiently interesting to discriminate. I remained a few days with Mr. Callander, conversing with the Hindoos and principal people in Jamboseer, whose manners and customs varied but little from those in the Dhuboy districts. From thence I performed a solitary journey to Ahmood, Baroche, and my *own* purgunnas; during which, deprived of my interesting companion, I had leisure to reflect on all we had lately seen, and to form an estimate of the happiness enjoyed by the inhabitants of Guzerat under the native princes, compared with the blessings of security and protection extended to those in the English districts, or rather in the empire of British India; no longer under the government of only a commercial company, but subjects of a sovereign who sways his sceptre over

those distant realms, where at least sixty millions of civilized, industrious, and peaceable people, look up to British energy and public virtue for a preservation of tranquillity and happiness. Much has been done both at home and abroad to effect this glorious purpose; much yet remains for improvement in the civil and religious establishment of that vast empire. The causes and effects of the late unfortunate misunderstanding at Madras will no doubt place the military in India, whether bearing the king's or company's commission, on a proper footing, and it is to be hoped will effectually prevent the repetition of conduct fraught with incalculable mischief. Peculiarly situated as we are in that distant country, it behoves every subject of Britain cordially to unite in the support of our happy constitution, as far as local circumstances admit of. If the fable of the father and his children makes a due impression, and the bundle remains indissoluble, we must, by our national character for justice, clemency, and generosity, gradually secure the gratitude and affection of the natives. Great will be the ascendancy of British administration, patriotic virtue, arts, and science, over Asiatic despotism, venality, and corruption; where the prophetical language may be literally applied, that "they hunt every man his brother with a net; that they may do evil with both hands earnestly, the prince accepteth and the judge asketh a reward; the great man uttereth his mischievous desire, and so they wrap it up; for the best of them is as a brier, the most upright is sharper than a thorn hedge. They have gathered the summer fruits, and the gleanings of the vintage, and have left no cluster to eat!"

Allowing the virtues recorded of the ancient Hindoo rajahs to

have existed in their golden age, that age is long past; like other eras of the same description it exists only in poetical fictions and fabulous legends: or, if there is truth in those ancient Hindoo annals, the cruelties of mahomedan invaders have obliterated it in seas of blood, flowing in a greater or less degree through many centuries. Since the death of Aurungzebe and the dismemberment of the Mogul empire, the peaceful Hindoos have been little benefited by the usurpations of Hyder Ally, or any of the petty despots called nabobs; nor are they rendered happier by the conquests of the Mahrattas, who, at least, equal the mahomedans in rapacity and cruelty. Under *all*, the system of oppression has been invariably adopted. Let British India boast of a mild, free, uniform, and stable government; let its delegated rulers shew by their religious, moral, and political conduct, that they are themselves actuated by the religion, morality, and policy which they wish to enforce—a religion of love and mercy, of inward purity and heartfelt delight; a religion, which having little to do with types and shadows, dwells in the heart, and influences the conduct. With such examples and such an influence, under the blessing of Him by whom kings reign and princes decree justice, posterity will behold a wonderful change. They will see that the Hindoos are not so rivetted to the prejudices of caste and superstitious ceremonies as to refuse the proffered blessings of liberty, protection, and peace. Let a wise administration remove ignorance and vice, and individual example exhibit the perfection of British virtue and Christian piety, and they will "see the wilderness and the solitary place be glad, and the desert rejoice and blossom as the rose: the glory of Lebanon shall be given unto thee; the

excellency of Carmel and Sharon: they shall see the glory of the LORD, and the excellency of our GOD! They shall obtain joy and gladness, and sorrow and sighing shall flee away!"

Although the description of Persian and Mogul entertainments at Cambay may convey some idea of modern oriental splendor in water-temples, waving chowries, scented punkas, perfumed sherbets, and similar accompaniments, they were in my estimation generally counterbalanced by as many inconveniences. At the moment of enjoyment I should have preferred a climate not in need of those extraneous luxuries; a country where hired singing-men, singing-women, and dancing-girls, are not deemed necessary to domestic amusement; where the young and happy of both sexes enjoy themselves, and communicate to others, the delight inspired by harmony, dance, and song, under the auspices of parental hosts, who encourage the innocent cheerfulness appropriate to the season of youth, and preside over their festivities with that taste and dignity which elegant and cultivated minds so preeminently display. The revolving season of Christmas, anniversary birth-days, and other family convivialities, afford an ampler scope for hospitality and beneficence—when friends, tenants, and dependants of various descriptions partake of their bounty and munificence. Such was no uncommon character among the English nobility and gentry some years ago, and is still to be met with in many country mansions throughout this favoured island.

If the traveller in various countries makes a comparative statement of human happiness, he will find, with few exceptions, that the Great Author of Nature has distributed it more equally than he first imagined. He writes of men and manners as he finds them

in their various gradations, from imperial Akber, dispensing happiness to millions, to the wandering fakeer with his staff and lark; from the splendid rajah and proud brahmin, to the wretched Pooleah and outcast Chandalah! Although he cherishes a hope that ere long, under British jurisdiction, the condition of the latter will be meliorated, he also enjoys some degree of pleasure in observing, that man, in a state of ignorance, is generally reconciled to his situation, and that consequently there is less individual happiness or misery than is at first apparent. In this position I am as far from defending the tyranny of despots, the oppression of zemindars, and the degrading distinctions of caste, as I should be in supporting the horrors of the Inquisition, or the miseries of the Bastille: but in contemplating the civilized part of the globe, whether in Europe or Asia, we shall find the concluding lines of Goldsmith's Traveller to contain a true portrait; whether drawn by the pen of Johnson (to whom they are attributed,) or flowing from the same source as many other striking passages in that beautiful poem, is of little consequence; the truth is evident to all who investigate human nature, and examine with an unprejudiced mind the allotment of Providence to his rational creatures.

" Vain, very vain, my weary search, to find
" That bliss, which only centers in the mind :
" Why have I stray'd from pleasure and repose,
" To seek a good each government bestows ?
" In every government though terrors reign,
" Though tyrant kings or tyrant laws restrain,
" How small of all that human hearts endure,
" That part which laws or kings can cause or cure !

" Still to ourselves in every place consign'd,
" Our own felicity we make or find ;
" With secret course, which no loud storms annoy,
" Glides the smooth current of domestic joy.
" The lifted axe, the agonizing wheel,
" Luke's iron crown, and Damien's bed of steel,
" To men remote from power but barely known,
" Leave reason, faith, and conscience, all our own."

Engraved by J. Storer.

View of the WATER TEMPLE in the Gardens of DIL GUSHÁ, or "Expansion of the Heart" at CAMBAY.

Jam. Forbes. 1782.

Published by White, Cochrane & Co. Fleet Street June 1st 1812.

Pandanus odoratissimus. The Keura-tree, sketched from nature in Guzerat 1780, copied on Stone 1812 J Forbes

Pandanus Odoratissimus

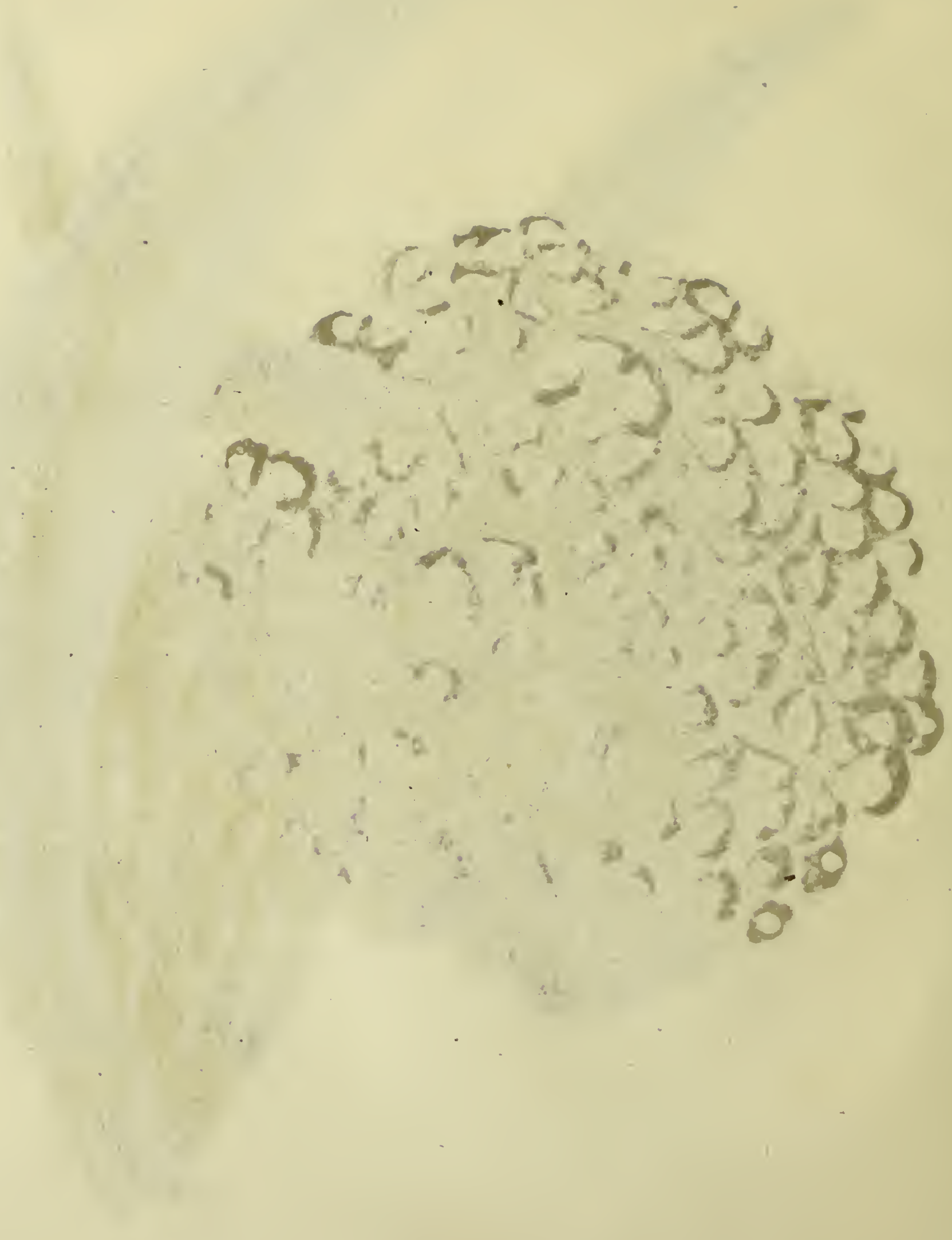
The flower and young fruit of the Keura

J Forbes 1780 copied on Stone 1812

Pandanus odoratissimus

The fruit of the Keura tree, drawn on Stone 1812

J Forbes



CHAPTER XXXII.

EXPEDITION AGAINST THE GRACIAS: CAPTURE OF MANDWA, AND RESTORATION OF PEACE; WITH AN ACCOUNT OF THE BHAUTS, SEERS, AND SIMILAR CHARACTERS IN GUZERAT.

1782.

"Noorsheervan, amidst the splendor of royalty, sought after the jewel of wisdom; and sent a philosopher in disguise, to make researches into the stores of knowledge in Hindostan. Mankind are often so subject to their corporeal senses, that they will not allow any thing to exist which they themselves have not felt; and are so governed by prejudice, that they will not believe any thing foreign that does not suit their own judgment: indolence induces them to forego the pains acquired in searching after knowledge, and they fall into a habit of imitation, without asking why or wherefore: hence a variety of evils are derived, and truth lies buried under a load of error. Thanks be unto God, who hath no equal, I neither condemn the ignorant; nor am I averse to praise those who know better." Ayeen Akbery.

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teresting female and an English gentleman, after such an application—warm imagination and lofty flights of the Persian poets—stanzas from the Yusef Zelakha of Jami—virtues of ointments and love-potions—passage from Horace—spells and charms complained of in the courts of Adawlet at Baroche and Dhuboy—virtues of the Hinna—poisons and enchantments—on the death of Germanicus.

CHAPTER XXXII.

The emigrations from the Brodera purgunna, occasioned by Futty Sihng's oppressive government, added so much to the prosperity of the Dhuboy districts, that at the commencement of the fair season, after the most seasonable rains in 1782, I found their population, and consequently the cultivation and revenue much increased. They would have been still more flourishing, had not the cruel depredations of the Bheels and Gracias prevented the distant villages from sharing the tranquillity enjoyed by those situated nearer the protection of the capital. I have occasionally mentioned both these banditti; the former were wild mountaineers, under no regular government, and almost in a savage state; the latter, in considerable numbers, were arranged according to their religion and caste, under a variety of petty sovereigns, Hindoos and Mahomedans, who were dignified by the titles of rajah, ranah, and other royal appellations; and had their viziers, officers of state, and usual appointments in an oriental durbar, blended with a meanness and rapacity, difficult to conceive. In this instance I allude to the rajahs and ranahs of Mandwa, Vazeria, and Veloria, contiguous to the Dhuboy pur-

gunnas. There were Gracia chieftains at Ahmood and other places in Guzerat of a more respectable character.

These Gracias style themselves the aborigines of the country; alleging that many ages ago the ancestors of the modern Hindoos possessed themselves of their property, and drove them to the eastern hills; under this plea, they rush down, armed, in large bodies of horse and foot, upon the defenceless villages, and make heavy demands upon the inhabitants; which, if not complied with, subjects them to the most atrocious cruelty and depredation. The marauders leave a written menace, or deliver a threat to the patell of the village, and probably on the following night come down with considerable force to burn the houses, drive off the cattle, and destroy the harvest. They sometimes murder men women, and children, without the least provocation. Dr. Francis Buchanan, describing the banditti in Canara, justly observes, that pestilence, or beasts of prey, are gentle in comparison with Hindoo robbers; who, in order to discover concealed property, put to the torture all those who fall into their hands.

During the Hindoo and Mogul governments at Dhuboy, detachments of armed cavalry patrolled the country, and protected the inhabitants; if the cruel Bheels and merciless Gracias did not retire on their approach, they cut them down, or destroyed them as so many wild beasts. On my appointment to Dhuboy, willing to give the Gracias a better opinion of British administration, and to impress their minds with a sense of our justice and moderation, I wrote letters to the different chieftains, desiring them to send proper persons to state their claims, in the cutcheree (or revenue-

court) at Dhuboy; assuring them, that at the time of settling the jumma-bundee, or harvest agreements, and appropriating the revenue to the respective claimants, their reasonable demands should be satisfied; provided they remained within their own districts, and did not molest the Company's subjects. I threatened them at the same time with the punishment due to such atrocity, if they continued their depredations.

The Gracias, from the first, made light of these proceedings, and afterwards treated them with contempt. My small detachment of cavalry, patrolling the districts, could effect but little against much larger bodies of Gracias well accoutred. The vertunnees, or armed-men, kept for the defence of each village, were generally driven within their mud walls. They sometimes sent me the head of a Bheel, as already mentioned, but met with no encouragement for so doing. Year after year of remonstrances, and mistaken clemency on my part, only added insolence to their cruelty and treachery. Anonymous letters, filled with abusive menaces to the inhabitants of Dhuboy, and threatening destruction to the villages, were tied up by night to the outward gates of the city. When apprehensive of any effective measures being taken against them, the Gracia chieftains thought proper to disavow any knowledge of these papers, which were sometimes addressed to myself; but always without a signature. These letters were sometimes more openly delivered, accompanied by the most wanton cruelties.

The Gate of Diamonds, or eastern portal at Dhuboy, has been particularly described; as also the custom of the inhabitants, to repair thither to enjoy the fresh air, and verdant shades without

the walls. There they met their friends every morning, and talked over the news of the day, a subject the Indians of all denominations are fond of: the same remark, by Pococke and Russell, illustrates this passage in Ezekiel "the children of thy people are talking concerning thee by the walls, and at the doors." A few peaceful Hindoos were one morning assembled on a verdant slope without the Gate of Diamonds, when two armed Gracias on horseback rode up, and asked them if I was at the durbar; being answered in the affirmative, one of these cruel wretches threw a letter to a brahmin, saying, "deliver this to your sirdar; but that you may not forget it, take this also, by way of remembrance;" at the same instant thrusting a spear into his side. The other delivered a letter intended for me to a banian; and, by way of enforcing a similar message, cut him across the breast with a scimitar. The wounds did not prove mortal, but they were both a considerable time under the care of a surgeon.

A frequent repetition of these outrages compelled me to urge the governments of Baroche and Bombay to send a military force against these banditti. Many villages were entirely depopulated, and the inhabitants, on emigrating into other countries, declared that notwithstanding the justice and clemency of the English laws, and the enviable blessings they enjoyed under their benign influence, they would rather become the subjects of an Asiatic despot who would protect them from the Gracias. In consequence of these representations, the garrison of Dhuboy was reinforced by a strong detachment of infantry and artillery from Baroche; which enabled me to send a sufficient force against Mandwa, the capital of Gomany Sihng, the chief Gracia rajah. This fortress,

the strongest in their country, was deemed impregnable, from its situation; and had always bade defiance to the Indian armies sent against it. My instructions to the commanding officer on this occasion, (consistent with rules then established in the Company's service) will evince the moderation and clemency, constantly enjoined, and practised by the British armies in India, on campaigns of more importance.

Sir,

On your detachment being joined by the troops from Baroche, you will march with the united force under your command to Mandwa, the capital of the Gracias, and there endeavour to secure the person of Gomanny Sihng, the Gracia chieftain, together with his vizier, and principal officers; as his subjects have lately committed the most insolent outrage and cruelty in the Honourable Company's districts intrusted to my care.

If you succeed in securing the Gracia rajah, or any of his family, you will please to send them under an escort to Dhuboy; there to give security for their future good behaviour, and to settle such other terms as may be necessary, to establish a permanent peace, previous to their enlargement. You will, in the mean time, continue at Mandwa, with your detachment, until you receive further directions from me, or from the chief and council at Baroche.

Should you not be able to secure the person of Gomanny Sihng, you are to make yourself master of the town, and remain there until further orders. Notwithstanding the cruelty, insolence and treachery of the Gracias towards our subjects, you will please

to issue the strictest orders, that the inhabitants of Mandwa and its dependencies, are not, under any pretence whatever, to be plundered or ill-treated; on the contrary, you are, on their submission, to assure them in the most unequivocal manner of the English protection.

Wishing you health and success,

I remain, &c.

(signed) James Forbes,

Collector of Dhuboy, &c.

Dhuboy,
9th October, 1782.

This expedition was kept a profound secret from the natives of Dhuboy, nor did the least suspicion of our intention reach the Gracia chief. The detachment marched out of the garrison at midnight, and reached Mandwa by break of day. So complete was the surprise, that when the guard opened the gates of the fortress to turn the cattle to pasture, and for the women to go out for water, the British troops rushed in, seized the guards, and obtained possession of the place with very little bloodshed. Gomanny Sihng, the Gracia chief, although a very old man, escaped by the vigilance and fidelity of his attendants, who on the first alarm carried him on his bed across the river, and conducted him to a strong hold, among the hills at some distance. Several ladies were taken prisoners in the zenana, with his wife and daughter, and sent to me as hostages. These princesses were at first very obstreperous, and occasioned much trouble before I could bring them to reason, or at all reconcile them to their situation. They menaced immediate self-destruction, if brought into my presence,

or at all exposed to public view; a threat which I was well assured they would put into execution, from the high idea generally entertained of such suicides. I therefore ordered a sepoy-guard, selected from such castes as I knew would be most agreeable; nor did I ever see them, or enter into that court of the durbar appropriated to their accommodation. And, as they did not eat animal food, a daily supply of rice, ghee, flower, spices, fruit, and vegetables were sent in for the ladies and their attendants, who had been brought from Mandwa to Dhuboy in covered hackarees and palanquins.

During the time these Gracia princesses were detained as hostages at Dhuboy, I wrote letters to the surrounding chiefs; one of them will be a sufficient specimen of that kind of correspondence, and illustrate my peculiar situation among those extraordinary people.

To Kessoor Khaun, Chief of the Vazeria Gracias.

[After the oriental compliments]

During three years residence in a public character at Dhuboy, I have frequently remonstrated with you on the insults, cruelties, and depredations, committed by your subjects in the English districts. They have been hitherto without effect. Some months ago your vizier came before me, with an apology for your conduct, and a promise of amendment; expressing at the same time your sincere wish to live on friendly terms with this durbar: all was insincere. The Gracias of Vazeria have since re-

newed their depredations, plundered the villages, and committed murder.

You have thought proper, among many other metaphorical expressions, to write to me, that "a moscheto can torment an elephant:" in one sense I admit its truth; but remember, that although that noble animal bears much, when once roused to revenge nothing can withstand his fury; the beasts of the forest tremble at his presence, and flee before him. The British lion, when exasperated, is still more formidable; he is noble, generous, and forbearing, but there is a season, when the time of forbearance is past, and the hour of revenge is arrived! My whole conduct must have convinced you of the lenity of the British nation, and of my desire to live in amity with the different governments around me; but the Gracias are continually infringing on the good order of society, and the peace which ought to subsist between civilized states. Too long did I suffer your cruel depredations, from a reluctance to draw the sword of revenge. But the Mandwa Gracias having lately exceeded their former atrocities, by darting a spear into the side of a brahmin, and treacherously murdering some of the Company's subjects, I was compelled to send an army against their chief, and take a capital which had for so many centuries been deemed impregnable. You are not ignorant of that capture, nor that the aged chieftain was with difficulty conveyed for safety to one of the distant hill-forts, while his wife and daughter, with several females from the zenana, were sent prisoners to Dhuboy, where they must remain as hostages until a general peace is concluded with the Gracias. They have a separate apartment in the

durbar, where they shall be honourably treated; nor need they have formed the desperate resolution of destroying themselves, if brought into my presence. The Gracia chieftains may be assured that I feel too much for their sex, their rank, and reverse of fortune, to add thereto any thing incompatible with their caste or religion. I neither desire to see them, nor to intrude any of my attendants into their apartments: their guards have been selected from the higher castes, and every proper attention paid them. They are detained as hostages, the more effectually to bring the Gracia government to proper terms; Gomanny Sihng has been informed, as you now are, that I am ready to receive your viziers and duans, and to accede to a liberal peace, on your producing respectable bhauts as guarantees for its being fulfilled; so treacherously has every former stipulation been evaded, that I will accept of no other security for your future good behaviour than Ryjee Sihng, the principal bhaut of Serulah, and any others with whom he may be willing to associate.

To you, I once more offer peace and friendship, before the same force that has conquered Mandwa, proceeds against Vazeria and Veloria. Send your vizier, or some other confidential minister to treat with me. Be assured his person shall be safe; and whatever may be the result of the negociation, he shall come in, and go out of this district under my protection: the English never act with duplicity, their word is sacred! Judge not of us by yourselves. You are a Mahomedan prince, and doubtless, conversant with the religion and morality of the Koran: consequently from being more enlightened than the pagan Gracias, I have written to you, as to a man of understanding. Reflect on the contents of this

letter; consider that peace and war are before you, and make a wise choice! I conclude in the words of your own epistle "what can I say more?"

L. S.

Dhuboy, or Sookiabad,
8*th of the month Sheval, Hejira* 1194.
A. D. 15*th October* 1782.

During the campaign in Guzerat I particularly mentioned the Bhauts at Neriad, and the value of a security executed by one of that extraordinary tribe; the failure of an agreement which they guarantee can only be expiated by the shedding of human blood. This was my reason for insisting upon this sacred ceremony, in all my engagements and treaties with the Gracias. A note on these lines in Pope's Homer is very illustrative of this custom among the Bhauts.

"Yet him, my guest, thy venom'd rage hath stung;
"Thy head shall pay the forfeit of thy tongue."

"From two remarkable expressions in Homer and Sophocles, it appears that the blood which was found upon the sword, was wiped upon the head of the slain; an intimation that his own blood was fallen upon the head of the deceased, and the living were free from it. His blood shall be upon his head, is a common expression in scripture, as also in other ancient writers. It was customary among the Romans to wash their hands, in token of innocence, and purity from blood. Pilate, the Roman governor, at the condemnation of our Saviour, washed his hands, and said, "I am innocent of the blood of this just person; see ye to it!" A speech,

which occasioned the memorable imprecation from the infatuated Jews, "his blood be upon us, and upon our children!" An imprecation which has been awfully accomplished; exhibiting, for near two thousand years, a standing miracle in proof of the Christian religion, in its dreadful consequences on this mistaken people."

It was customary among the ancients, to confirm their agreements, by drinking human blood, in which they sometimes mingled wine. Ryjee Sihng, the Bhaut whom I generally selected on these occasions, was of a respectable family in the Zinore purgunna, particularly celebrated as an historic bard, or minstrel. In that part of his professional character, the Gracia chiefs took very little concern, it being to them a matter of indifference, whether he chanted their praises, or published their crimes, so as he did not rigidly exact the performance of a deed where money was the object. With them, as with many superior potentates in Hindostan, avarice superseded honour. The characters of princes and historical traditions are committed to the Bhauts, in the same manner as was practised among the bards and oral historians of Greece. Homer was of this tribe; and the same custom prevailed in Judea. In the chronicles of the kings of Judah, long after the death of Josiah, it is said that all the singing-men and singing-women spake of that excellent monarch, in their lamentations, unto that day.

I wished to be guided by justice, moderation, and clemency, in my dealings with the Gracias; but those virtues were of little avail with that unprincipled race. The best, and most efficacious mode of negociating with the generality of Indian princes, was by a

similar message to that from Benhadad king of Syria, to the Israelitish monarch, then besieged by him in Samaria. He sent messengers to Ahab, saying, "thy silver and thy gold is mine; thy wives also and thy children, even the goodliest of them, are mine; and thou shalt deliver them into my hands. I will send my servants unto thee tomorrow about this time; they shall search thine house, and the houses of thy servants; and it shall be, that whatsoever is pleasant in thine eyes, they shall put it into their hands and take it away!"

Equally insolent were the messages of the Gracia chiefs to me, both verbally and in writing. Their insolence in prosperity was only equalled by their meanness in adversity. Very similar to the pusillanimous conduct of the tyrannizing Benhadad, when defeated by the monarch of Israel, to whom he had so lately sent his insolent demands. On this reverse of fortune he sent his servants with sackcloth upon their loins, and ropes on their necks, with a supplication to spare his life; a request with which the king of Israel imprudently complied. This hardly exceeds the insolence of the Gracias before the conquest of Mandwa, nor their abject behaviour afterwards. Many of the letters and messages from their princes, delivered at the gates of Dhuboy, were not in spirit, but in words, replete with expressions of impregnable rocks, swelling rivers, birds of omen soaring aloft, and a variety of figurative language so exactly resembling that on ancient record, that I cannot omit it. Gomanny Sihng, especially, gave me to understand that "he dwelt in the clefts of the rock, on the height of the hill; that he had made his nest high as the eagle, it was the habitation of the strong. Although we should come up as a lion from the

swellings of Jordan, we should flee to the plains in which we glorified; even to the valleys and the plains, which were the right of their inheritance."

After the conquest of Mandwa, and tedious negociations with the Gracia chieftains of Vazeria and Veloria, they reluctantly entered into the Bhaut security, finding no other terms would be admitted, and finally acceded to my demands. They engaged Ryjee Sihng, the head Bhaut of Serulah, and several others of the most respectable families, to become guarantees for their performance of the treaties entered into with their respective chiefs. The articles of peace and friendship between them and the East India Company, were duly ratified in the Dhuboy durbar, and there guaranteed by the Bhauts, who signed their names, and instead of affixing a seal, drew the figure of a *cattara*, or dagger, their instrument of death, opposite to each name. The female hostages were then dismissed, tranquillity was perfectly restored, and not a Gracia was to be seen within the company's districts. So that at the conclusion of my third year, I had the satisfaction of beholding all the purgunnas intrusted to my management, well cultivated, populous, and happy. Colonel Wilks's History of Mysoor contains an excellent note on the Bhauts, with which I shall conclude my account of these extraordinary people.

"Bart, baut, batt, as it is differently pronounced, is a curious approximation to the name of the western *bard;* and their offices are nearly similar. No Hindoo rajah is without his bards. Hyder, although not a Hindoo, delighted to be constantly preceded by them; and they are an appendage to the state of many other Mussulman chiefs. They have a wonderful facility in speak-

ing improvisatore, on any subject proposed to them; a declamation in measures, which may be considered as a sort of medium between blank verse, and modulated prose; but their proper profession is that of chanting the exploits of former days in the front of the troops, while marshalling for battle, and inclining them to emulate the glory of their ancestors. Many instances are known of bards who have given the example, as well as the precept, of devoting themselves for their king, by leading into the thickest of the battle.

"At the nuptials (says the legend) of *Siva* (the destructive member of the Indian triad) with Parvati, the deity discovered that the pleasures of the festival were imcomplete, and instantly created poets, for the purpose of singing his exploits to the assembly of the gods: they continued afterwards to reside at his court or paradise of Kylâsum; and being one day desired by *Parvati* to sing her praises, submissively excused themselves, by reminding her of the exclusive object of their creation, namely, "to chant the praise of heroes." *Parvati*, enraged at their uncourteous refusal, pronounced on them the curse of perpetual poverty; and the bards remonstrating with *Siva* against this unmerited fate, were informed that nothing human could evade the wrath of *Parvati*. That although he could not cancel, he would alleviate the curse; that they should accordingly be permitted to visit the terrestrial world; where, although sometimes riches and plenty, and always approbation, would be showered over them by the sovereigns of the earth, the former of these gifts should never remain with them; and that poets, according to the decree of *Parvati*, should be ever poor. The alleged prediction contri-

butes to its own fulfilment, and is the apology of the Indian bards for not being much addicted to abstinence of any kind."

" The legend adverts to a *Mundanee Misroodoo*, who in the beginning of the Caly-yoog, introduced certain ordinances, among which was the prohibition of animal food; a reform which the brahmins consented, but the bards refused, to adopt. Major Mackenzie conjectures that the name Misroodoo may possibly designate the country of the reformer—*Misr*, Egypt; and that this well known reform may have been introduced into India by the Egyptian priesthood. *Shenker Acharee* is mentioned in the legend as reviving, at a period long subsequent, some of the doctrines of *Misroodoo*; and *Shenker Acharee* probably lived about the commencement of the christian æra."

Although Parvati, according to the preceding legend, inflicted a severe punishment on the bards for not singing her praises, the ladies in the east have adopted other modes of obtaining that satisfaction. Their eulogy may perhaps be less public, and more limited in Hindostan than some other parts of Asia. Many passages of scripture and ancient history mention singing-men and singing-women sounding the praises of heroes in public; but do not entirely confine those panegyrics to the male sex. And d'Arvieux, who was present at the visit of an Arabian princess to the wife of an emir, or great chieftain, at her tents, says, " she was mounted on a camel, covered with a carpet, and decked with flowers; a dozen women marched in a row before her, holding the camel's halter with one hand: they sung the praises of their mistress, and songs which expressed joy, and the happiness of being in the service of such a beautiful and amiable lady. Those which went first,

and were more distant from her person, came in their turn to the head of the camel, and took hold of the halter; which place, as being the post of honour, they quitted to others when the princess had gone a few paces. The erim's wife sent her women to meet her, to whom the halter was entirely quitted out of respect, her own women putting themselves behind the camel. In this order they marched to the tent where she alighted. They then sung all together the beauty, birth, and good qualities of this princess." Voy. dans la Palestine, p. 249.

The Ayeen Akbery mentions both the Bhauts and Charuns. The Hindoos say that Charun or Churrun, was created from the will of Mahadeo, and that Bhaut issued from his spine; that these were the founders of two distinct tribes; Charun composed verses, sang the praises of, and revealed to mankind past and future events. The tribe who bear his name are his descendants; the greatest part of them employ themselves in singing hymns of celebration, and in reciting genealogies. In battle they repeat warlike fables, to animate the troops; and they are also famous for discovering secret things. Bhaut was the progenitor of the tribe so called; who at least equal the Charuns in animating the troops by martial songs, and in chronology excel them; but the charuns are better soldiers. There is hardly a great man throughout Hindostan who hath not some of these tribes in his service.

The transactions with the Gracias brought me more immediately acquainted with the Hindoo seers, astrologers, and prophets, of Guzerat. During my residence at Dhuboy I had frequent occasions of slight intercourse with these extraordinary people; who had pretended to foretel my periods of happiness,

and warn me of impending dangers. But, like the prophecies of Michaiah, and other false seers, I found their predictions were not infallible. These astrologers were consulted by the Gracia chieftains on the first rumour of the expedition against Mandwa. Oriental sovereigns of far more importance attend to their divinations on the events of war, or the terms of peace. They are sent for, as was the seer of Aram by the king of Moab, when the armies of Israel approached his territories, to curse a people that were too mighty for him. On the prophet's arrival the king took him to Zophim, and the high-places of Baal; from whence they beheld the goodly tents of Jacob, and the tabernacles of Israel, spread forth in the vallies, as gardens by the river's side, as cedar trees beside the waters; "from hence," said the desponding monarch, "come curse me Jacob, and defy me Israel." I shall proceed no further with this sublime and beautiful episode, than to remark that Balaam was not a prophet of Israel, but one of the oriental seers who were then consulted on important occasions, and were sometimes permitted to utter solemn truths, and extend their prophecies to distant periods. We are expressly told the source of Balaam's inspiration on this occasion. His parables not only foretold the success of the Jewish army, but, in the sublimest strains, predicted the coming of the Messiah!

I have introduced the seer of Aram and his interview with Balak on mount Zophim, from a coincidence of circumstances, when the Gracias first believed the reality of an expedition against them. Gomanny Sihng and his confederates then sent for the principal brahminical astrologers and soothsayers; who, as usual,

received the reward of divination, and flattered the vanity of the Mandwa chieftain, by assuring him that his fortress was impregnable, that the English arms would not prevail, and that the Gracias might set our threat at defiance. These predictions encouraged them to continue their depredations, and increased their insolence and cruelty.

The seers and diviners in Hindostan are not confined to the brahmin tribe: they are to be found of various descriptions, and of both sexes; from the prince, who, like Joseph, divineth by his cup, to the humble fortune-teller, who, like the wandering gipsy, receives a small donation for his prediction. Plutarch mentions similar occurrences; and from other classical writers we find the Greeks and Romans believed some men were endowed with power by the gods, to devote not only individuals, but whole armies to death. Homer frequently introduces the seers and augurs in the Grecian and Trojan armies.

> " This, Telemus, Eurymides foretold,
> " The mighty *seer*, who on these hills grew old;
> " Skill'd the dark fates of mortals to declare,
> " And learn'd in all wing'd omens of the air."

The astrologers and magicians at Rome at length fell into such disrepute, that, according to Tacitus, the whole tribe was banished from Italy, by a decree of the Senate. Two of them were put to death; one was thrown from the Tarpeian rock, and the other executed, at the sound of a trumpet, on the outside of the Esquiline gate. The magicians of Chaldea, and the professors of judicial astrology,

wishing to be deemed men of real science, called themselves mathematicians, a name which frequently occurs in the Annals of Tacitus.

Many augurs and soothsayers in India, though not of any particular caste or tribe, are I believe set apart and educated for the purpose in the seminaries of the Brahmins. We frequently read of the schools of the prophets among the Jews; few of the pupils, probably, were afterwards dignified with that sacred title, or endowed with any supernatural gift. On the contrary, Amos, when invested with that high honour, says "I was no prophet, neither was I a prophet's son; but I was an herdsman, and a gatherer of sycamore fruit. And the Lord took me as I followed the flock, and said unto me, Go, prophesy unto my people Israel." I am led to imagine that in many Hindoo seminaries, instead of encouraging mental and moral improvement, in those liberal and solid acquirements, which expand the ideas, and dignify human nature, the pupils are instructed in astrology, geomancy, cabalistical knowledge, and similar attainments, which tend to weaken and degrade the rational character. Unlike the great and wise Akber, who instituted public schools throughout his extensive empire, where, after the boys had been taught the letters of the Persian alphabet, and the first rudiments of science, they were then instructed in morality, arithmetic, astronomy, geometry, agriculture, œconomics, physic, logic, natural philosophy, abstract mathematics, divinity, history, and the art of government. In the Hindoo schools every one was educated according to his circumstances, or particular views in life. A plan which might be wisely adopted in many civilized countries of Europe. From those regu-

lations mentioned in the Ayeen Akbery, the schools of Hindostan obtained a new form; and the colleges became the lights and ornaments of the empire.

I have omitted geomancy among the sciences taught in the schools of Akber, as undeserving a place in his liberal plan of education; but, distinct from the diviners and soothsayers lately mentioned, there are in Ahmedabad, Baroche, Dhuboy, and most cities in India, a class of females, skilled in astrology, geomancy, and fortune-telling; these women were well known among the Greeks and Romans; and in our translations from the Hebrew they are called *wise-women*, which exactly answers to their appellation amongst the modern Indians. It was to one of these that Joab thus addressed himself, after David had banished Absalom. "I pray thee feign thyself to be a mourner; put on mourning apparel, and anoint not thyself with oil; but be as a woman that had a long time mourned for the dead; and come unto the king, and speak in this manner unto him. So Joab put his story into her mouth." From the kind respectful manner in which the king treated her, after hearing the melancholy tale, we may judge of the high estimation of these wise-women in those days. They are frequently introduced by the ancient poets under the denomination of enchanters, diviners, and charmers. Their power was supposed to be very great; and they used various devices to accomplish their purpose. Ovid introduces one who had power over all the elements; and another mentioned by Theocritus, as consulted by a love-sick swain, exactly corresponds with a circumstance which came immediately within my own knowledge.

"All this I did, when I design'd to prove
"Whether I should be happy in my love:—
"To Agrio next, I made the same demand,
"A cunning-woman she, I cross'd her hand."

Wise ladies of this description are now consulted by young people in India, on the same subject; especially on the jealousy, revenge, and other passions prevalent in an Asiatic zenana. I could recite many modern anecdotes similar to those in Persian and Arabian tales, but will confine myself to that above alluded to.

A young gentleman, when collector in one of the Company's districts in Guzerat, separated from all European society, formed a temporary connection with an amiable Hindoo girl; for this step no justification is offered, though the most rigidly virtuous would, perhaps, make some allowance for influence of climate and custom, a total seclusion from European refinement and elegant society; and the impossibility, thus situated, of forming an honourable union with one of his fair countrywomen. In a christian country, where every man, from the sovereign to the cottager, may wed the object of his affections, and where individual example influences the circle in which he moves, a deviation from moral rectitude admits not of this extenuation; but when seduction or adultery aggravate the crime, the evil strikes deep at moral and religious principle, and destroys domestic comfort.

The example of this young Englishman could have little effect among a people who neither professed the religion, nor practised the manners of Europe. His attachment to Zeida was constant, delicate, and sincere; he never saw her at her own house,

and she entered the durbar by a private door in the garden. Three years had passed in this manner, when one evening the lovely girl, her eyes suffused in tears, informed her protector that knowing he would shortly return to Europe, a cavalry officer of a good family in her own caste, had offered to marry her; a proposal she never would have listened to, had he remained in India; but under the idea of losing him, she requested his counsel on a scheme so important to her happiness. Her friend, delighted with this honourable establishment, readily consented, and the marriage took place. Zeida lived with her husband in a remote part of the city; from prudential reasons all former intercourse ceased; and from the different modes of life between Europeans and Asiatics, nothing was heard of Zeida for many months.

In the warm nights preceding the rainy season, the youth generally slept upon a sofa, placed under a gauze musquito-curtain, on the flat roof of the durbar; to which there was one ascent from the interior, and another by an outer flight of steps from the garden. While reposing there on one of those delightful moon-light nights known only between the tropics, and apparently in a dream, he thought something gently pressed his heart, and caused a peculiar glow, accompanied by a spicy odour, which impregnated the atmosphere; under this sensation he awoke, and beheld a female reclining over him in a graceful attitude. Her personal charms, costly jewels, and elegant attire were discernable through a transparent veil, a double fold artfully falling over the upper part concealed her features. Her left hand contained a box of perfumed ointment, with which her right was softly anointing his bosom, nearest the region of the heart. Doubtful whether

the scene was real, or the effect of a warm imagination, he remained for some moments lost in astonishment; when the lovely stranger, throwing aside her veil, discovered Zeida, decked with every charm that youth and beauty could assume on such an interesting visit.

When his surprise subsided, Zeida informed him the marriage had turned out unfortunate; in hopes of happier days she had hitherto forbore to trouble him with complaints; but seeing no amendment she seized the opportunity of her husband's absence to repair to the durbar, in hopes of regaining that affection which had formerly constituted her happiness. Fearful of a cool reception, she had previously consulted the most celebrated cunning-woman in the city; who prepared a box of ointment, which she was to apply by stealth, as near as possible to the heart of the object beloved; and, if so far successful, she might be assured of accomplishing her wishes. Zeida knew not the character of her friend; he resisted the tear of beauty, and the eloquence of love; and having convinced her of the difference between their former attachment, and the crime of adultery, persuaded her to return home before the approaching dawn discovered the impropriety of her visit.

Oriental poets paint the tender passion with all the glow of fancy and power of language: as Sir William Ousley observes, "in their descriptions of beauty, they indulge the most extravagant license; the earth affords few objects sufficiently amiable or beautiful, to be admitted into their similies; the blushing rose withers at the superior glow of a mistress's cheek; and the lofty

cypress is confounded at the grace and majesty of her stature. The Persian poet ascends into the clouds of fiction, and seeks among the aerial race of *Peries*, some resemblance to his beloved; but seldom contented in this intermediate state, he exalts himself among the stars, the moon and the sun; and his aspiring imagination would soar, no doubt, even above these. Seeking objects of comparison, could imagination conceive any more beautiful, more brilliant, more sublime!"

Zeida was not a dull pupil in this school; she felt that life without love is of little value, as poignantly as Khosroo, Hafiz, or any of the Persian poets. The sentiments, so much extolled in the *Yusef Zelekha* of Jami, only express those, which, in unstudied language, flowed from the lips of Zeida at this affecting interview.

" Enrapt Zelekha, all her soul on fire,
" Flew from her home, t'accomplish her desire;

" The raven night now slowly wings its way,
" The bird of morning hails the new-born day:

" Th' enchanting warblers sing in rival pride,
" The blooming rose-buds throw their veils aside:

" The virgin jasmin bathes her face in dew,
" The violet scents her locks of azure hue:

" But sad Zelekha knows no pleasing rest,
" While hopes and fears possess her anxious breast:

" Her powers of reason wild despair disarms,
" Prompting to scatter all her roseate charms:

" Smiling, to all she wears the face of joy,
" A thousand flames her burning breast destroy.

"Night, more than day, desiring lovers hail,
"For that withdraws, but this bestows the veil.

"Conceal'd by night, she gives her griefs to flow,
"And seeks in solitude relief from woe.

"In youth's gay garden, like a flower she rose,
"Pure and unruffled, as life's water flows:

"Giv'n to the winds, away her peace is flown;
"Upon her bed unnumber'd thorns are strown."

Respecting the virtues of the ointment prepared by the experienced matron, such charms are generally credited in India: many allusions to them are found in oriental stories; the "ointment poured forth," and similar expressions in Solomon's Song, have probably the same tendency. The ancient poets abound with philtres, charms, and medicaments, to excite the tender passion. Unguents, bones of snakes, blood of doves, and a variety of potions are mentioned by the Greek and Roman writers; especially the Arcadian plant called *hippomanes.* Many appropriate passages might be quoted from Homer, Virgil, and Propertius. One from Horace, where Canidia seems to have been be placed in a similar situation with Zeida, will suffice.

Atque nec herba, nec latens in asperis
Radix fefellit me locis.
Indormit unctis omnium cubilibus
Oblivione pellicucum.
Ah, ah, solutus ambulat veneficæ
Scientioris carmine.

Then what am I? There's not an herb doth grow,
Nor root, but I their virtues know,
And can the craggy places shew;
Yet Varus slights my love, above my pow'r,
And sleeps on rosy beds secure;
Ah! much I fear some rival's greater skill
Defends him from my weaker spell.

It would be endless to repeat the variety of instances relating to these spells and incantations which were continually brought before the courts of adawlet in Baroche and Dhuboy, where they could neither be refuted nor counteracted. Those brought to light in the public court were generally more intended for destruction by poison, than for the creation or revival of the tender passion. To effect the latter many virtues are attributed to the mendey, or al'hinna, a fragrant and elegant shrub in the oriental gardens, already mentioned. With the leaves of this plant the Indian women tinge their nails and fingers of a crimson dye; from whence that passage in a Hindoo song, "Like me, O Hinna! thy heart has long been full of blood; whose foot art thou desirous of kissing?" The other spells were composed of less innocent materials, and appropriated to more iniquitous purposes. With the exception of human ingredients, they bore a very near resemblance to the singular anecdote recorded by Tacitus, and confirmed by Dio Cassius, respecting the death of Germanicus; who was supposed to have been poisoned at Antioch, by the secret orders of Piso, by means of Martina, a celebrated female practitioner in these arts. "Under the floor, and in the cavities of the walls, a collection of human bones was found, with charms,

and magic verses, and incantations. The name of Germanicus was graved on plates of lead; fragments of human bodies, not quite consumed to ashes, were discovered in a putrid condition; with a variety of those magic spells, which, according to the vulgar opinion, are of potency to devote the souls of the living to the infernal gods."

Stone Impression J Forbes

Different Species of the Palmyra Tree, in the Western Part of India.
1. Cocoa Nut, 2 Palmyra or Brab 3, Date, 4 Areca, or Betel Nut Tree.

Engraved by Cha.s Heath.

A GRACIA CHEIFTAIN or RAJAH, with his SUARREE or usual attendants,

from a drawing by Baron de Montalembert, 1783.

Published by White, Cochrane & Co. Fleet Street, June 1st 1812.

RYJEE SIHNG, *a* BHAUT *in the* ZINORE PURGUNNA.

Jam. Forbes ...

Published by White, Cochrane & Co. Fleet Street, June 1st 181..

CHAPTER XXXIII.

AN EXCURSION INTO THE BRODERAH PURGUNNA, AND OTHER DISTRICTS IN THE PROVINCE OF GUZERAT.

1783.

"Quantos payzes, tantos costumbres." — Spanish Proverb.
As many countries, so many customs.

"And often did he pry through Nature's store,
Whate'er she in th' ethereal round contains,
Whate'er she hides beneath her verdant floor,
The vegetable and the mineral reigns;
Or else he scann'd the globe, those small domains,
Where restless mortals such a turmoil keep,
Its seas, its floods, its mountains, and its plains,
But more he search'd the mind, and rous'd from sleep
Those moral seeds whence we heroic actions reap." — Thomson.

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CHAPTER XXXIII.

The present chapter formed the contents of a letter to a member of council at Bombay, who had never been in Guzerat, and wished to obtain some information respecting the English purgunnas in that province. A few repetitions of circumstances mentioned in former chapters, extracted from a correspondence with friends in England, may have escaped notice; I have endeavoured to avoid tautology and to suppress redundancy, except where it would have disturbed the sense or broken the connexion.

In the month of January, 1783, I accompanied the chief of Baroche, then lately arrived from Bombay, on a tour through all the purgunnas under his jurisdiction, as collector-general. We formed a social party of five English gentlemen, with proper officers and attendants; it being necessary for those who fill high stations in India to preserve a respectable appearance in the eyes of the natives. We spent three weeks in this delightful tour, although the distance did not exceed two hundred miles. December, January, and February, are the best months for travelling in Guzerat; the mornings and evenings are cold, and the whole day temperate

and pleasant. The thermometer at sun-rise is frequently under 60°, sometimes considerably lower, and at noon, until the warmest time of the day, seldom exceeds 70°; during the hot winds in the succeeding months, although the morning may be tolerably cool, the thermometer gradually rises from 70 to 100°, and on the plains of Nairangseer, near Cambay, I have seen it 116 in the soldiers' tents.

On leaving Baroche and its extensive suburbs, we travelled twelve miles near the banks of the Nerbudda, to our first encampment, under Cubbeer-Burr, (ficus Indica) one of the most magnificent banian-trees in India, forming a canopy of verdant foliage impenetrable to a tropic sun, extending over a circumference of two thousand feet. A dreadful storm and sudden swell of the river had, a few months before, diminished its beauty and reduced the number of its trunks, which formerly exceeded thirteen hundred and fifty, all traced to one parent stem.

The birds, monkeys, and serpents abounding in Cubbeer-Burr are well known. The enormous bats which darken its branches frequently exceed six feet in length from the tip of each wing, and from their resemblance to that animal, are not improperly called flying-foxes. Bats of this magnitude are a kind of monster, extremely disagreeable both in smell and appearance. They must have been the harpies mentioned by Virgil.

"When from the mountain-tops with hideous cry,
"And clattering wings the hungry harpies fly;
"They snatch the meat, defiling all they find;
"And parting, leave a loathsome stench behind."

These large bats, like the rest of their species, suspend them-

selves by the claw, or hook on the wings with their heads downwards, when they repose or eat, in which posture they hang by thousands in the shades of Cubbeer-Burr. Archdeacon Paley remarks, that "the hook in the wing of a bat is strictly a mechanical, and also a *compensating* contrivance. At the angle of its wing there is a bent claw, exactly in the form of a hook, by which the bat attaches itself to the sides of rocks, caves, and buildings, laying hold of crevices, joinings, chinks, and roughnesses. It hooks itself by this claw, remains suspended by this hold, takes its flight from this position, which operations compensate for the decrepitude of its legs and feet. Without her hook, the bat would be the most helpless of all animals. She can neither run upon her feet, nor raise herself from the ground; these inabilities are made up to her by the contrivance in her wing; and in placing a claw in that part the Creator has deviated from the analogy observed on winged animals. A singular defect required a singular substitute."

As some of the monkey tribe seem to unite the brute to the human species, in the great chain of creation, so the bat forms the link between birds and beasts. Naturalists have disputed to which class they belong. Pliny and the ancients place them among the feathered race; the moderns, with greater propriety, arrange them with quadrupeds. Like a bird they have wings, and the power of flying; unlike the oviparous tribes, they bring forth their young alive, and suckle them; the mouth is furnished with very sharp teeth, and shaped like that of a fox.

The most disagreeable inhabitants of this verdant caravansary are snakes, which in great variety dwell among the branches; some malignant, others innocuous. The monkeys destroy a number of

these reptiles; sufficient still remain to cause anxiety in a sojourner before his slumbering siesta, or nightly repose; yet it is extraordinary how few accidents happen from venomous creatures in India, where the natives in travelling are accustomed only to spread a mat, or cotton carpet, on the earth when they sleep. I have occasionally mentioned circumstances irreconcileable to Europeans, constantly occurring among the Hindoos. I insert another anecdote respecting the bite of a serpent, and the consequences which took place at Baroche the year before I made this excursion; I shall only affirm that my relation is an unembellished matter of fact, from which I do not pretend to draw any conclusion.

At Baroche I was intimate with a Banian named Lullabhy, the richest man in the city, and of great influence in the purgunna. He was universally believed to possess the power of curing the bite of venomous serpents, by a knowledge peculiar to himself, which he never imparted to another. By this art he certainly recovered many natives from a desperate state, after being wounded by the cobra-di-capello, and the scarlet snake of Cubbeer-Burr, without touching the patient or prescribing any thing inwardly. The talent of Lullabhy seemed to have no affinity with that of the ancient Psylli, or the modern snake-charmers, but probably was not unlike the science professed by Mesmer or Dr. de Mainoduc; be that as it may, his fame for effecting these cures was every where established. Mr. Perrott, then second in council, and some other of the civil servants at Baroche, were satisfied with a cure of which they had been frequent witnesses.

Of all the Europeans I was acquainted with in India, Mr. Robert Gambier, at that time chief of Baroche, was perhaps the

most incredulous respecting talismans, charms, divinations, and preternatural pretensions of the brahmins. His opinion of Lullabhy's talent was publicly known; a circumstance in his own garden now afforded a fair opportunity of detecting its fallacy. One of the under-gardeners working between the pavilions was bit by a cobra-di-capello, and pronounced to be in danger. Mr. Gambier was then holding a council in an upper pavilion, and, at the desire of Mr. Perrott, immediately sent for Lullabhy, without informing him of the accident, of which he remained ignorant until ushered into the chief's presence. The gardener was lying on a slight bed of coir-rope, in a veranda adjoining the council-room. Being asked if he could effect a cure, Lullabhy modestly replied, that by God's blessing he trusted he should succeed. The poor wretch was at this time in great agony, and delirious; he afterwards became torpid and speechless; still Lullabhy was not permitted to commence his operation. The members of council anxiously waited the chief's permission, especially when Lullabhy asserted that any further loss of time would render it too late. Mr. Gambier examined the man's pulse by a stop-watch, and when convinced his dissolution was inevitably approaching, he allowed Lullabhy to exert his influence. After a short silent prayer, Lullabhy, in presence of all the company, waved his catarra, or short dagger, over the bed of the expiring man, without touching him. The patient continued for some time motionless; in half an hour his heart appeared to beat, circulation quickened; within the hour he moved his limbs and recovered his senses. At the expiration of the third hour Lullabhy had effected the cure. The man was sent home to his family, and in a few days recovered from the weakness occasioned by con-

vulsive paroxysms, which probably would neither have been so severe or of such long continuance, had the counteracting power been sooner applied.

Lullabhy was not only the principal zemindar of Baroche, but one of the most opulent men in Guzerat. It is unnecessary on this occasion to investigate his character as a zemindar, among the Patels and Ryots, or to inquire how he accumulated his wealth. I have stated the conduct of zemindars in my own purgunnas; and as the Asiatics view the nefarious transactions in the revenue department differently from a conscientious Englishman, I shall be silent on that subject. As a charitable man, this wealthy Banian appeared very conspicuous; he daily appropriated a considerable sum of money to alms-giving and relieving persons in distress; no mendicant was dismissed from his gate without a measure of rice, or a mess of vegetable pottage mingled with meal. In time of dearth he distributed grain throughout the villages in the Baroche district; nor was his bounty confined to those of the Hindoo religion. He repaired public tanks and choultries for travellers, dug several common wells, and constructed a bowree, or large well, in the Baroche suburbs, with steps leading down to the water, all of hewn stone, in a very handsome style of architecture. A marble tablet placed over the fountain of this noble reservoir, contains a short inscription more expressive and beautiful in the Persian language than can be given in an English translation.

"The bounties of Lullabhy are ever flowing."

About this time Lullabhy celebrated a splendid wedding for his son, a boy under five years of age, and soon after married his only daughter, a year younger than her brother, to a child of a

suitable age, in a respectable family of the same caste. The feasts and entertainments to his friends and acquaintance of all descriptions continued many days, parading every night by torch-light, through the principal streets of the city, with state horses, palanquins, musicians, dancing-girls, and every display of eastern magnificence, in which the infant brides and bridegrooms, covered with jewels and wreaths of flowers, made a splendid appearance; the former in palanquins, the latter on led horses. These nocturnal processions, illuminated by many hundred massauls, or torches, illustrate the parable of the ten virgins, as each torch-bearer carries a lighted flambeau in one hand and a brass vessel containing oil to feed the flame in the other. Lullabhy's presents on this occasion were extensive and valuable, considerably exceeding a lac of rupees, upwards of twelve thousand pounds sterling.

Not long after Lullabhy's daughter died; being a man of such high respectability, all those who had partaken of his festivity now sent messages of condolence. I paid him that mark of attention, not merely as a ceremony, but because I felt sincerely for his loss. The religious rites and family customs on the death of relations are piously and strictly attended to by all castes of Hindoos. When the days of mourning were accomplished, I was surprised by a much earlier visit from Lullabhy than I expected. On alighting from his hackaree I received him as a person under affliction, and cautiously avoided saying any thing to awaken his parental feelings. He led to the subject himself, and, with a smile of resignation if not of cheerfulness, told me as it was the will of God to deprive him of his child, he had the greatest consolation which a father could enjoy on such an event, that of seeing her previously

married; had the nuptial rite not taken place, her death would indeed have plunged him into deep affliction.

Natural affection must be nearly the same in all climates and countries, but the numerous and prolonged ceremonies required on the death of a Hindoo seem in some measure to supersede and alleviate the sorrow, which might otherwise take deeper root in the filial or parental breast. Mourners are hired at the obsequies of Hindoos and Mahomedans, as they were in ancient days. It appears from a passage in the prophet Amos, that this sort of mourning and lamentation was a kind of art among the Jews: "wailing shall be in the streets, and they shall call such as are skilful of lamentation to wailing."

From Cubbeer-Burr we continued our route for ten miles along the banks of the Nerbudda to Corall, a small town, which gives its name to an inconsiderable district, then belonging to the company, producing a revenue of forty thousand rupees. The little capital, situated on the bank of the river, contains some tolerable houses, a few Hindoo temples, and a gurry, or fortress, of no great strength. Some of the villages are large and populous, the country generally well cultivated, producing abundant crops, similar to those described in the Dhuboy districts.

Our next stage was only nine miles from Corall, to Ranghur, a small compact fortress on a lofty bank of the Nerbudda, in a commanding situation, where I had a delightful summer apartment overlooking the rural plains and woody hills on the south side of the river. We passed a few villages belonging to the Broderah purgunna, and on approaching Ranghur entered an extensive plain covered with baubul trees, a beautiful species of mimosa, produc-

ing gum-arabic, and affording cover to immense herds of antelopes. This spot forming a part of my district under Dhuboy, I was well supplied with venison and other game. A little powder and ball procured me an antelope, and for a rupee I could at any time purchase a deer, with two or three pea-fowl. For the more certain destruction of antelopes and deer in that country, the sportsman covers himself with a moveable arbour of green boughs; which effectually concealing him from the unsuspecting animals, they become an easy prey. The peacocks, doves, and green pigeons found near the Guzerat villages, are nearly as tame as poultry in a farm yard.

It is unnecessary to particularise different stages and encampments on this tour: we travelled with two sets of tents and servants; by which means, without a deprivation of comfort at one station, we found every necessary prepared for us on arriving at the next. Throughout this excursion we generally met with mango, tamarind, or banian-trees, on the banks of rivers, the margin of a lake, or near a public well: water being the first consideration for the cattle and attendants necessary in a country where furniture, beds, and every useful article must be carried with us. Hay, fire-wood, milk, butter, and lamp-oil, are supplied gratis to most travellers, according to the custom of Guzerat; and in that respect we found very little difference whether travelling in the English purgunnas, or the dominions of a foreign prince.

Reposing under contiguous trees, we generally saw yogees, gosannees, Mahomedan dervises, and other religious mendicants, who travel over Hindostan; and often met with large caravans of banjarrees, or vanjarrahs, a set of merchants, who do not belong

to any particular country; but live in tents, and unite together for mutual comfort and safety, in the transportation of their merchandise. Each corps is governed by its own laws and regulations. These people travel from interior towns to the sea coast, with caravans of oxen, sometimes consisting of several thousand, laden with corn, oil, and manufactured goods of cotton and silk. They return with raw cotton, spices, woollen cloths, iron, copper, and other articles imported from Europe, and distant parts of Aia: the greatest number are laden with salt, which finds a ready sale in every habitable spot, from the sea to the summit of the Ghaut-mountains.

The vanjarrahs from distant countries seldom make more than one annual journey to commute their merchandize at the sea-ports; travelling with their wives and children in the patriarchal style, they seem a happy set of people, particularly at their meals. A hundred fires are often blazing together in their camp, where the women prepare curry, pilaw, or some savoury dish, to eat with the rice and dholl, which constitutes their principal food. Some of these merchants travel fifteen hundred or two thousand miles during the fair season; and, as they make only one journey, they contrive to give it every possible advantage. For this purpose each bullock carries a double load, which they effect in this manner: moving on one stage with their loaded oxen, wives and children, they fix upon a shady spot, to unload the cattle; leaving the family and merchandize under the care of a guard, they drive back the empty oxen for a second load; which is brought forwards, and deposited in their tents. The cattle having rested, move on to the next station, with the first packages; returning

empty, they proceed again with the second load, and thus continue a trading journey, throughout the whole fair season. The vanjarrahs are protected by all governments, pay the stated duties at the frontier passes, and are never molested. For further security, a bhaut generally accompanies the caravan; the bhauts or churrons, are a caste feared and respected by all the Hindoo tribes; an old woman of that description is a sufficient protection for a whole caravan. If plundered, or ill treated, without reparation, either the protecting bhaut, or one of the tribe, sheds his blood in presence of the aggressors; a dreadful deed, supposed to be always followed by divine vengeance. The vanjarrahs are likewise followed by conjurors, astrologers, jugglers, musicians, dancing-bears, dancing-snakes, monkeys, and various entertainments; they gain a livelihood by what they receive in the camp, or pick up in the towns and villages through which they pass.

The palanquin-bearers in India, are also a happy people. I had the same set in Guzerat for many years. During a long journey, which they generally contrive to pass very cheerfully, on reaching their station in the evening, whether under a tree, a choultrie, or a shed, one immediately lights a fire, and cleans the cooking utensils; another prepares the supper; the rest champoe each other, or lie down to repose. A travelling set of bearers never consists of fewer than eight; sometimes more; and in our party, where each gentleman had his own set of bearers, they made a considerable number. To prevent their falling asleep before the rice and curry is ready, the wittiest man in the company commences a story, similar to those in the Arabian Nights Entertainments, which always gains attention and affords amusement.

These in a humble degree resemble the professed story-tellers who form part of the establishment in an oriental court.

Between Ranghur and Zinore, I stopped with one of our party under a friendly banian-tree, near a tank, to refresh the bearers: a young and graceful Hindoo woman passed us in her way to a temple on the opposite side of the lake. Concluding she had gone thither on some religious visit, we took no further notice; but in less than half an hour she returned, carrying a bundle on her arm with such anxious care as arrested our attention. Having nothing of the kind when she first passed us, we inquired after the contents: smiling at the question, and removing the drapery, she shewed us a fine infant, of which she had just delivered herself at the water-side, its birth having unexpectedly happened while walking to her own village at no great distance, whither she then proceeded. The whole transaction was begun and finished within the space of half an hour.

The book of Exodus implies something of this kind in a comparison between the Hebrew and the Egyptian women. Lady Wortley Montague makes similar observations on the Turkish, and Brydone on the Sicilian females. But I should not have ventured to relate the Guzerat anecdote, had not Dr. Fryer, a professional man, made a similar remark. "The *Gentoo* women, at their "labours, seldom call midwives: it is a profession only in esteem "among the rich and lazy; the poorer, while they are labouring or "planting, go aside, deliver themselves, wash the child, lay it in "a clout, and return to work again."

Had this woman belonged to any of the unnatural tribes of Guzerat, who practise female infanticide; or had she been a

young widow devoted to celibacy, whom the birth of her child would have doomed to infamy and loss of caste, she might here have disposed of it as she thought proper, without any human witness of the transaction, and subject to no punishment but the remorse of her own conscience: fortunately she was the wife of a peasant, and became the happy mother of a fine infant.

The distance from Ranghur to Zinore is about eleven miles, through a populous, well-cultivated country, at that time under my care. From the town you descend the steep bank of the Nerbudda by more than a hundred broad steps of hewn stone, many yards in extent. This river is there a narrow stream, meandering through a lovely scene of woods, groves, villages, and cultivated plains, bounded by picturesque hills and lofty mountains. Purchas's Pilgrims, two hundred years ago, describes Guzerat "as a garden, where the traveller saw at once the goodliest spring and harvest he had ever seen. Fields joining together, whereof one was green as a meadow, the other yellow as gold, ready to be cut, of wheat and rice. And all along goodly villages, full of trees, yielding abundance of fruits."

Soon after leaving Ranghur we came to the celebrated pass at Bowa-peer, where the Mahratta armies ford the Nerbudda, when rushing down from the Deccan mountains, on these lovely plains like a people of old, fierce and strong, with a fire devouring before them, and behind them a flame burning; the land was like the garden of Eden before them, behind them a desolate wilderness; and from them nothing should escape. Such a country to be so frequently subject to the cruel depredations I twice witnessed within six years, is truly painful. Guzerat, either in

fertility or beauty, cannot easily be exceeded. The tract round the imperial city of Ahmedabad, and all that extensive champaign watered by the Mihi and Sabermatty, is a perfect garden; its flat surface forming a variety from the inequalities of landscape round Zinore. Hindostan, though not destitute of poets and historians, cannot be styled classic ground; but had Homer, Virgil, or Horace visited this "Paradise of Nations," they would have caused it to vie with Greece and Italy. An oriental Baia and Umbria would have courted their muse; and the vale of Tempe would not have remained unrivalled. The gardens of Alcinous, and the streams of Tiber and Clitumnus bear away the palm of antiquity; in every other respect the royal retreats at Ahmedabad, and the noble rivers of Guzerat, far surpass them. Homer has exactly described the province of Guzerat,

> "Stern Winter smiles on that auspicious clime,
> "The fields are florid with unfading prime:
> "From the bleak pole no winds inclement blow,
> "Mould the round hail, or flake the fleecy snow,
> "For there all products and all plants abound,
> "Sprung from the fruitful genius of the ground;
> "Fields waving high with heavy crops are seen,
> "And trees that flourish in eternal green:
> "Refreshing meads along the murmuring main,
> "And fountains streaming down the fruitful plain. Pope's Odyssey.

From Zinore we proceeded ten miles to Chandode, which is esteemed by the Hindoos one of the most sacred spots in Guzerat; situated in a romantic part of the province, among deep ravines and overhanging woods, on the banks of the Nerbudda;

a favourite retirement for that class of brahmins who spend their lives in indolence, apathy, and a repetition of superstitious rites and ceremonies, with which the generality of the Hindoos have fortunately little connexion; although the number of days appropriated to festivals and sacrifices for their respective deities, to which the people allowed to worship at the temples are enjoined observance, amount to nearly one third of the year. The Hindoo religion has occupied so much of these volumes, that further discussion would be superfluous. Some queries were put to me by a sensible friend, desirous of information regarding the recluse brahmins in the sacred seminaries of Guzerat, which I shall not withhold from those more capable of resolving them: a full decisive answer would explain many difficulties which now occur in the brahminical ethics and religion.

Do the brahmins consider the universal Deity, and the sentient, or conscious, principle in human nature, to be one and the same Being?

If they do, under what name, or as what attribute of the Deity, or result of sense, do they respect and consider him as forming inherently a part of human nature? For instance, whether as Brahma, Visnoo, or Siva? or as love, power, or intelligence?

Do the brahmins consider the essence, of which sentiment or consciousness forms an inherent part, as it may constitute a part or the whole of the Deity, and a part of human nature, as an essence pervading the creation in all its parts and forms? For instance, do they conjecture that stones or trees, or the elements,

in any of their forms and modifications, can have any portion, however vague, of sensation and consciousness?

Can a human being, according to the brahminical ideas, accumulate within himself, or cause to have influence on his nature the essence of the Deity surrounding him, by any operation of thought, self-government, or amelioration of conduct? and, can he lose, by a contrary conduct, or by any encouragement of vicious passion within him a portion of the Deity he may be in possession of, and be thus influenced the less by its proximity?"

From my own knowledge I cannot explicitly answer these questions; many passages in Craufurd's sketches of the Hindoos, elucidate them in a certain degree. "Pythagoras, returning from his eastern travels to Greece, taught the doctrine of the metempsychosis, and the existence of a Supreme Being, by whom the universe was created, and by whose providence it is preserved. That the souls of mankind are emanations of that Being. Socrates, the wisest of the ancient philosophers, seems to have believed that the soul existed before the body; and that death relieves it from those seeming contrarieties to which it is subject, by its union with our material part. Plato (in conformity to the opinions of the learned Hindoos) asserted, that God infused into matter a portion of his divine spirit, which animates and moves it: that mankind have two souls, of separate and different natures; the one corruptible, the other immortal: that the latter is a portion of the divine spirit; that the mortal soul ceases to exist with the life of the body; but the divine soul, no longer clogged by its union with matter, continues its existence, either in a state of happiness

or punishment; that the souls of the virtuous return, after death, into the source from whence they flowed; while the souls of the wicked, after being for a certain time confined to a place destined for their reception, are sent back to earth to animate other bodies. Aristotle supposed the souls of mankind to be portions, or emanations, of the Divine Spirit; which, at death, quit the body, and, like a drop of water falling into the ocean, are absorbed into the divinity. Zeno, the founder of the stoic sect, taught that throughout nature there are two eternal qualities; the one active, the other passive: that the former is a pure and subtle æther, the Divine Spirit; and that the latter is in itself entirely inert until united with the active principle. That the Divine Spirit, acting upon matter, produced fire, air, water, and earth: that the Divine Spirit is the efficient principle, and that all nature is moved and conducted by it. He believed also that the soul of man, being a portion of the *Universal Soul,* returns, after death, to its first source. The opinion of the soul being an emanation of the Divinity, *which is believed by the Hindoos,* and was professed by the Greeks, seems likewise to have been adopted by the early Christians. Macrobius observes, Animarum originem manare de cælo, inter rectè philosophantes indubitatæ constant esse fidei. Saint Justin says, the soul is incorruptible, because it emanates from God; and his disciple, Tatianus the Assyrian, observes, that man having received a portion of the Divinity is immortal as God is."

Such was the system of the ancient philosophers, Pythagoreans, brachmans, and some sects of Christians. In the sacred volumes of the Hindoos are these assertions: "Know that every thing which is produced in nature, results from the union of

Keshtra and *Keshtragna*, matter and spirit. As the all-moving *Akash* (æther) from the minuteness of its parts, passeth every where unaffected, even so the omnipotent spirit remaineth in the body unaffected. The soul is not a thing of which a man may say, it hath been, or is about to be, or is to be hereafter; for it is a thing without birth, constant and eternal, and is not to be destroyed. It is even a portion of myself, that in this world is the Universal Spirit of all things. I am the Creator of all things, and all things proceed from me. I am the soul, which is in the bodies of all things."

The last text seems to convey an answer to the questions of my ingenious friend, more clear and satisfactory than it is in my power to offer, either from experience, or any other authority.

On leaving Chandode, we reluctantly quitted the beauties of the Nerbudda, on whose banks we had hitherto chiefly travelled. A stage of ten miles from the sacred groves and seminaries of Chandode, brought us to Dhuboy, where I had the pleasure of entertaining my friends a few days in the durbar; from whence we made excursions to Bhaderpoor, and other places within my jurisdiction, before we proceeded northwards to Brodera or Baroda, the capital of Futty Sihng. It was gratifying to observe how much the population, industry, and commerce of the company's districts were improved by the security, protection, and encouragement of the English government; the standard of liberty had then been flying three years on the Gate of Diamonds at Dhuboy; when that noble flag was first displayed, the surrounding country exhibited a scene of poverty, wretchedness, and despair; in villages destroyed and burnt by contending armies;

cattle killed or driven away; peasants emigrated, or compelled to join the plundering hosts like beasts of burden. This dreadful system had been so frequently repeated, that when I took charge of the Dhuboy purgunnas, no language can describe their deplorable state; and a few months afterwards, when surrounded by the Mahratta army, I have from the ramparts beheld upwards of twenty villages in flames at the same time. The first female in Europe, when princess Charlotte of Mecklenburgh Strelitz, pathetically described a similar scene, in a letter to Frederick the Great, king of Prussia, written when that amiable princess was not sixteen years of age. It ought to be transcribed in letters of gold, and with a set of Callot's miseries of war, occupy a conspicuous place in the cabinet of every sovereign and prime minister in the civilized world!

"I AM at a loss whether I shall congratulate or condole with your majesty, on your late victory, since the same success that has covered you with laurels, has overspread the country of Mecklenburgh with desolation. I know, Sire, that it seems unbecoming my sex, in this age of vicious refinement, to feel for one's country, to lament the horrors of war, or wish for the return of peace. I know you may think it more properly my province to study the arts of pleasing, or to turn my thoughts to subjects of a more domestic nature: but, however unbecoming it may be in me, I cannot resist the desire of interceding for this unhappy people. It was but a very few years ago that this territory wore the most pleasing appearance; the country was cultivated, the peasant looked cheerful, and the towns abounded with riches and festivity. What an alteration at present from such a charming

scene! I am not expert at description, nor can my fancy add any horrors to the picture. But surely even conquerors themselves would weep at the hideous prospect now before me. The whole country, my dear country, lies one frightful waste, presenting only objects to excite terror, pity, and despair. The business of the husbandman and the shepherd are quite discontinued; the husbandman and the shepherd are become soldiers themselves, and help to ravage the soil they formerly occupied. The towns are only inhabited by old men, women, and children; perhaps here and there a warrior, by wounds or loss of limbs, rendered unfit for service, left at his door; his little children hang round him, ask an history of every wound, and grow themselves soldiers before they find strength for the field. But this were nothing, did we not feel the alternate insolence of either army, as it happens to advance or retreat. It is impossible to express the confusion even those who call themselves friends create; even those from whom we might expect redress, oppress us with new calamities. From your justice, therefore, it is that we hope for relief; to you, Sire, even children and women may complain, whose humanity stoops to the meanest petition, and whose power is capable of repressing the greatest injustice."

Considering the incursions of the Gracias into my purgunnas, and how much they had lately suffered by war, they were then in a flourishing condition. Several occurrences in this journey, noticed by the collector-general, and the other collectors, tended to improve the statement we had before transmitted to the Bombay government, respecting the landed-property, cultivation,and

revenue of the English districts in Guzerat. They were committed to writing for that purpose, the unexpected cession of Baroche and all its dependencies to Mhadajee Scindia, and the Mahrattas, frustrated our plan. But as the Baroche purgunna, and other considerable districts in Guzerat, once more happily form a part of the British empire, I shall insert a brief recapitulation of the present state of landed property in India, from an excellent work lately published, which states that "the country is divided into large estates; some of them equal in extent to the county of York. All landed property belongs to the government, which lets the district to a great renter, or zemindar. This tenant divides his estate into shares, which again are let to inferior renters, through several gradations under different names; so that before the land is given to the peasant it goes through several hands: some smalls pots are possessed in perpetuity by persons holding a tenure something analogous to our perpetual fee-farm rents in Europe. Thus we see that in Asia there is no class of men which answers to our landed interest. The zemindars, as they first hold one district and then another, may be rather considered as traders in produce, and usurers to the cultivator, and thus may be more properly deemed a part of the monied interest; of course they have no local attachment, nor any regard for the peasantry. This system may well accord with the despotic governments of Asia, but cannot be at all necessary to the support of an European power established in a country whose genius dictates milder institutions.

"If these immense tracts were divided into smaller estates, forming a gradation down to the peasant, who possesses a few

acres of land, the result would be a greater security of property, and superior encouragement to industry; an increase of people, and the clearing immense tracts of waste land, which now cover the half-desolated country of Bengal.

" As our European system of landed tenure is unknown in Asia, and inasmuch as it is highly favourable to the prosperity of the people, so it would be opposite to the principle of public revenue in India, where the revenue is the rent of land. When once mankind had felt the good effects of this policy, it would be to their interest that it should be durable; hence would arise a dread of again being under the dominion of a native power. To say that it would make them independent enough to enable them to raise the hand of rebellion against us, would testify ignorance of the temper and genius of the people. It would also imply that the servants of the Company would not know how to govern the whole community by balancing the different orders of society against each other. The increase of confidence towards the government which such a measure would cause, must render the accumulation of wealth and the establishment of a funded property more easy, and create a fresh tie on the fidelity of the subject. It must animate him by every motive of interest, in the defence of a government on which his prosperity and happiness depended. To this system it is that Great Britain owes its stability in the midst of the revolutions which have convulsed all Europe. Man is in many respects the same under every climate, and the motive of personal interest is certainly the surest pledge of his fidelity.

" In a country where the great body of the people are poor

husbandmen and artificers, and where the rich have no fixed or landed interest, little support can be expected from them; particularly when they are under the dominion of strangers, in whose preservation they can have no personal interest. Thus we see that it is in our power to prolong the duration of our Indian empire to a very distant period, if we have but wisdom and firmness to see things as they really are, and acquire clear and distinct ideas on them; and at last when our existence as a great and powerful people shall be traced only in the page of history, posterity will attribute to us the glory of having wrought a change highly important to the prosperity of mankind, and to the foundation of civil government, in a region where degrading despotism had oppressed the natives, and arrested all improvement in society." Leckie.

From Dhuboy we proceeded to Brodera, a city twenty miles to the north-west. About mid-way we crossed the river Dahder, then almost dry; but in the rainy season it is deep and rapid. The country was fertile and well cultivated, but presented neither hills nor uplands, to form the variety we had been accustomed to near the Nerbudda. There is indeed one exception on the right of this extensive plain where the mountain of Powaghur rears its majestic head, and gives an unusual grandeur to the landscape; it stands entirely unconnected, with a steep, bold, and rocky ascent on all sides. This extraordinary mountain appears considerably higher than the Table-land at the Cape of Good Hope; but resembles it in other respects. On the summit is a strong fortress, belonging to Mhadajee Scindia, a Mahratta chieftain, difficult of access, and deemed impregnable.

Brodera, the capital of the Guicawar domain in Guzerat, is situated in the latitude of 22° 15′ 30″ north, and 73° 11′ east longitude. It then belonged to Futty Sihng, head of the Guicawars, but had been formerly in the possession of the Moguls, to whom it is indebted for all its grandeur; the Mahrattas having neither taste nor desire of improvement. The fortifications, like most others in this part of India, consist of slight walls, with towers at irregular distances, and several double gates. The town is intersected by two spacious streets, dividing it into four equal parts; meeting in the centre at a market place, containing a square pavilion, with three bold arches on each side, and a flat roof, adorned, with seats and fountains. This is a Mogul building, as is every thing else that has the smallest claim to grandeur or elegance. The Mahratta structures are mean and shabby, none more so than the durbar, then lately finished by Futty Sihng; which resembles most modern Hindoo palaces, in the want of taste and proportion in architecture, and elegance in the interior decoration. Many Indian princes, Hindoos and Mahomedans, as also the wealthy nobles have a favourite upper chamber, with walls and cieling covered with mirrors of every size and shape; in the centre is a sofa, or a swinging bed, suspended from the roof, adorned with wreathes of mogrees, and cooled with rose-water. Here the voluptuous Indian retires to smoke his hookah, or waste his time with a favourite from the haram. This apartment is sometimes decorated with indelicate paintings, in a wretched style, suited to their depraved appetites: the orientals in high life are generally men of debauched morals and vitiated taste, who have no idea of the pure and tender passion of love:

"Nought do they know of those sweet graceful acts,
"Those thousand decencies, that daily flow
"From female words and actions; mixt with love,
"And sweet compliance."

In eastern harams the heart has little share in the tender passion. Asiatic love, devoid of sentiment, means only sensuality; its elegant refinements and chaste endearments are unknown. From the confined education and retired habits of female life in India, the women have no idea of intellectual enjoyment; their ordinary pursuits are trifling, their amusements childish. To have children, fine clothes, and abundance of ornaments, seem to be the grand objects of their wishes.

The Hindoo women are fond of frequenting their temples, and performing the enjoined sacrifices: the Mahomedan females seldom attend public worship; this by no means implies that they do not pray at home: nor does the Koran, as many imagine, inculcate the doctrine that women have no souls; neither does it, as alleged, deem them incapable of enjoying a situation in the voluptuous paradise of the Arabian prophet. On the contrary, there are many passages in the Koran, which give them an equal title to that happiness, as the other sex: these are explicit. "Whosoever doeth good, whether he be male or female, and is "a true believer, shall be admitted into Paradise. On a certain "day, thou shalt see the true believers, of both sexes; their light "shall run before them, and on their right hands; and it shall "be said unto them, good tidings unto you this day; gardens "through which rivers flow, ye shall remain therein for ever."

The remains of Mahomedan mosques and splendid tombs,

embosomed in the Brodera groves, add a sombre beauty to the scenery near the capital. They contain many superb mausoleums to the memory of wealthy Moguls, and humbler tombs, or graves of turf, for the inferior classes. In these cemeteries are displayed the amiable propensities of the female character: to these consecrated spots the Mahomedan matrons repair, at stated anniversaries "with fairest flowers to sweeten the sad grave." The grand tombs are often splendidly illuminated; but the meanest heap of turf has its visitors to chant a requiem, light a little lamp, suspend a garland, or strew a rose, as an affectionate tribute to departed love, or separated friendship.

The funeral ceremonies of the Mahomedans in Guzerat, and other parts of India, resemble those in Turkey, Persia, and Arabia. Widows and matrons, like the ancient *Præficæ*, are hired to weep and wail, and beat upon their breast with loud lamentations.

> Στηθος δε πληξας, κραδιην ηνιπαπε μυθω. Hom. Odys.
>
> "Smiting upon his breast, he began to chide his heart."

This was practised, not only amongst the Greeks, but adopted by the Jews and many other nations. The howling and lamentation, on such occasions, by the vociferous females in the suburbs of Baroche, frequently reached to Vezelpoor, and disturbed the tranquillity of our retreat. It is to these noisy exclamations, rather than to the dignified and affecting effusions of silent sorrow, to which Lucan alludes. "With hair dishevelled, and smitten breast, 'twas thus she *spoke* her grief."

> "Effusas laniata comas, concussaque pectus
> "Verberibus crebris.——— sic mœsta profatur."

Many Mahomedans reside in the smaller towns and villages of Guzerat: they engage but little in agriculture or manufactures, leaving the operations of the loom, and the toil of husbandry to the more patient and laborious Hindoos: commerce and war form the principal pursuits of the Mussulmans.

In the environs of Brodera are some very expensive bowrees, or wells, with grand flights of steps descending to the water, through rows of stone pillars and pilasters; these noble reservoirs are generally charitable donations from the rich and great, both Hindoos and Mahomedans. The largest of the Brodera wells is a magnificent work, with the following inscription over the portal, in the Persian character; of which I insert the translation, as a specimen of such dedications.

IN THE NAME OF ALLA!

THE GOD OF MERCY AND BENEFICENCE!

GOD IS ONE!

AND THE GOD WHO SENT MAHOMET INTO THE WORLD.

Jaffier Khan Ben Vazalmool, viceroy of Guzerat, was great, successful, and mighty in battle. Brodera was under his command; he was an officer high in rank above all officers, and dignified, by the king his master, with the most honourable titles. By his favour, Soliman his chief minister was appointed governor of Brodera; where, by the blessing of Alla, he accumulated great riches, and employed them in works of charity and beneficence. By him, this work of beauty, strength, and admiration, was, by the Divine permission, completed on the first day of the month Razeb, in the 807th year of the Hejira.

The steps to Soliman's well at Brodera, were truly grand; in the meeting between Eliezer and Rebecca, at the well in Mesopotamia, it is particularly mentioned that Rebecca went down to the well to draw water; from whence, after having filled her pitcher, she came up, possibly by one of these flights of steps. Perhaps also the ear-ring was the same as that which is now worn on the nose by the Hindoo women; for it is expressly said in mentioning the ornaments and jewels, provided for the occasion, that Eliezer put the ear-ring (singular) upon the damsel's face.

The water of Soliman's well is reckoned extremely pure, and is much sought after. When the oriental princes and great men travel, they generally have the water which they are accustomed to drink carried with them, either in earthen jars, or leather vessels, called pacauleys. This is a wholesome custom, as the variety of water on a journey is the cause of many disorders, especially to those who neither mingle it with wine, nor drink any other liquor. Aurungzebe carried it with him from Delhi to Cachemire. The opulent Hindoo travels with the water of the Ganges; the ancient kings of Parthia were accompanied by the water of the Choaspes. David, when surrounded by the Philistine army, longed to taste of the water from the well at Bethlehem, his native place: three mighty men of valour brake through the Philistine host, and brought him the water.

Near Brodera is a stone bridge over the river Biswamintree, consisting of two ranges of arches, over each other. I do not mention this construction as being curious, or elegant in its architecture, but as the only bridge I ever saw in India. In Guzerat

the rivers are generally crossed in ferry-boats, or the traveller continues his journey along the banks to the nearest ford. During the rainy season, when the rivers swell suddenly, and run with amazing velocity, I have been obliged to cross them on a light platform, fixed on empty earthen pots, dragged over by ropes. This is sometimes a dangerous experiment, especially when any of the pots break.

Brodera is abundantly and cheaply supplied with excellent provisions; with mutton, beef, and kid, at a penny per pound; or a whole fat lamb or kid for fifteen pence; poultry is not bred much, except near the English settlements in Guzerat; but deer, hares, partridges, quails, and water-fowl, are extremely cheap and plentiful. Compared with the price of provisions at Bombay, these were uncommonly low, and yet they were extravagant to the cost of similar articles in the northern parts of the Bengal provinces, and some districts through which General Goddard's army marched in their route to Surat. The officers commanding the Bengal battalions of sepoys, then stationed at Brodera, informed me they had in those countries purchased a fine ox for three rupees; six sheep, or as many fat lambs, for one rupee; and five dozen of fowls at the same price; wild hogs, deer, and hares were extremely abundant; flamingos, wild ducks, and feathered game still more so. In plentiful seasons every kind of Indian grain was procurable by the poorest peasants; they could buy upwards of three hundred pounds weight of rice for a rupee; juarree, bahjeree, and inferior grain proportionably cheaper.

In such a country none can complain of poverty; and throughout the province of Guzerat the general wants are few, compared

with those of the natives in colder climates, particularly in houses, fuel, and raiment. Give a poor Hindoo his cocoa-nut hubble-bubble, or smoking machine; a shady tree, near a tank for his beverage and ablutions; and a village bazar to purchase a little rice and tobacco, and he performs a long journey perfectly contented. Poor indeed must be the spot which cannot supply him with those necessaries; I never met with any so desolate in the course of my travels. For in Hindostan are no ruthless deserts or pathless plains, common in Persia and Arabia; those arid tracts which Buffon so admirably describes in a few words: "Qu'on se figure un pays sans verdure, et sans eau; un soleil brulant, un ciel toujours sec, des plaines sablaneuse, des montagnes encore plus arides, sur les quelles l'œil se tent, et le regard se perd, sans pouvoir s'arreter sur aucun objet vivant."

If I were to point out the most beautiful part of India I ever saw, I should fix upon the province of Guzerat. If I were to decide upon the most delightful part of that province, I should without hesitation prefer the purgunnas of Brodera and Neriad. The crops in the other districts may be equal in variety and abundance, but the number of trees which adorn the roads, the richness of the mango topes round the villages, the size and verdure of the tamarind trees, clothe the country with uncommon beauty, such indeed as I never saw to so great an extent in any other part of the globe. There is, besides, a voluptuous stillness, if I may use the expression, in an Indian landscape, a serenity in the atmosphere, and a quietness in the road during a morning walk, or evening ride in the cool season, not generally known in Europe. I am almost tempted to say, that the lotos-covered lakes,

and their overshadowing banian-trees, have a more cheerful and brilliant appearance than in the surrounding districts: the sweet variety of the red, white, and blue lotos, gently agitated by the breeze, or moved by the spotted halcyon alighting on the stalks, with the rails and water-hens lightly running over the foliage, are altogether lovely. Our tents were pitched in one of these delightful situations on the margin of a lake, about a mile from the walls of Brodera.

I do not know whether the seed of the lotos is eaten, or put to any other use in India, nor can I ascertain the variety of these plants in different parts. Eustathius says there are many kinds of lotos: he thinks Homer speaks of it as an herb, for he calls it ἄνθινον εἶδαρ; and adds, that there is an Egyptian lotos, which Herodotus affirms grows abundantly in the Nile, resembling a lily; the Egyptians take out the pulp or seed, dry it in the sun, and bake it as bread: this I think cannot be any of the class in Hindostan. Athenæus, in his Deipnosophist, quotes a description of the Lybian lotos, from Polybius, which was used as food by the natives; but that also differs very much from the lily of the Nile, or the nymphea of Hindostan. Did any of the harmless Hindoos eat the seed or fruit of this plant, as they convert its leaves into dishes and plates at their own vegetable meals, they would exactly answer Homer's description of the innocent lotophagi.

> " At length we touch'd, by storms and tempests tost,
> " The land of *Lotos*, and the flowery coast;
> " We climb'd the beach, and springs of water found,
> " Then spread our frugal banquet on the ground:
> " The people there are kind to foreign guest,
> " They eat, they drink, and nature gives the feast;

"The trees around them all their food produce,
"Lotos the name; divine nectareous juice!
"(Thence call'd lotophagi) which whoso tastes,
"Insatiate riots in the sweet repasts." ODYSSEY.

Three valuable articles might be cultivated in Guzerat to a much greater extent, which would yield an ample profit, if the speculation did not interfere with the West India trade to England; these are the sugar-cane, tobacco, and indigo; the luxuriance of these productions, when planted in a congenial soil, indicates the source of wealth that would accrue to the cultivator on a larger scale, without encroaching on the quota of land set apart for the necessary supply of corn, oil, and pulse of various kinds. Mulberries of three different sorts flourish in the Guzerat gardens; the small red, the white, and a long curling kind, hanging in appearance like so many caterpillars. Each of these kinds grow from cuttings without the smallest trouble; they only require to be stuck in the ground in the rainy season, and take their chance afterwards. Thus silk in any quantity might be produced in various purgunnas. Opium perhaps would not be so productive in all places where the poppies would grow; nor is it desirable, from the fatal purpose to which it is converted in most parts of India and China. Hemp and flax would flourish in the northern districts, and cotton is a staple commodity of Guzerat.

The villages in the Brodera purgunna, like those of the adjacent districts, are seldom more than two miles from each other. The natives all live either in towns or villages; a single farm-house, or even a separate cottage, is not often seen; incursions of wild beasts, and in many tracts of wilder men, is a sufficient reason for

their dwelling near each other, within the village fence of mud walls and milk-bush hedges. Bamboos, planted for that purpose, form a very strong boundary. Cattle are never left out at night in the village pastures.

It was dreadful to think that the inhabitants of this earthly paradise groaned under the most oppressive despotism. Compared with the government of the Brodera chieftain, a Mogul prince appears a noble character; but even the latter loses much when contrasted with the ancient Hindoo rajahs. Surrounded as they were by wealth and splendor, there was something patriarchal in their style of administration, which, by delegated authority, pervaded the most distant provinces. A retrospective view of oriental history carries us to a time of great simplicity—to something like the golden age of the poets, when virtuous princes sat on the throne, and a religion unadulterated by modern brahminism, prevailed throughout the empire. Of such a climate, such a country, and such a sovereign, it may be truly said, that "blessed of the Lord was the land, for the precious things of heaven, the precious things of the earth, and for the precious fruits brought forth by the sun; for the chief things of the mountains, and the precious things of the hills; for blessings which distil as the dew, and as showers upon the grass! that he might eat the increase of his fields; butter of kine, milk of sheep, and kidneys of the wheat; that he might suck honey out of the rock, and oil out of the flinty rock!"

Futty Sihng completely reversed this benevolent portrait of the ancient Hindoo rajahs. He thought himself under a necessity of paying attention to the English chief of Baroche, with several members of his council, and suitable attendants, travelling through

his districts. No sooner were our tents pitched near the walls of Brodera than he sent his chopdars, or heralds, with a friendly message, accompanied with a present of fruit and sweetmeats, and requesting the honour of a visit at the durbar. We accepted his invitation the same evening, and were amused as usual with dancing-girls, music, betel, and sherbet, and received the customary presents, but all in a very unprincely style compared with the Persian and Mogul entertainments at Cambay. The generality of Hindoo princes, when contrasted with the highest class of Mussulmans, are mean and sordid; avarice and ambition unite in both; but the courteous behaviour and dignified politeness of the Mogul are far more engaging than the unpolished manners, mingled with the disagreeable pride of the Mahratta sirdar.

Futty Sihng was a remarkable instance of the blended characteristics of pride, avarice, and a sordid disposition. As a prince he had many names and titles; the principal were Futty Sihng Row, Guicawar, Shamsheer Bahadur. As head of the *Guicawar* family, that of *Cow-keeper* was most pre-eminent: the last appellation alludes to the prowess of a military chieftain. Futty, or Futteh Sihng, implies the "*Horn of Victory.*" The horn has always been a figurative expression in Asia for power and dignity. David says to his enemies, "Lift not up your horn on high"—of himself, "My horn shalt thou exalt like the horn of an unicorn;" or rather the rhinoceros, it being a most offensive weapon in that animal. In Abyssinia the horn, according to Bruce, is worn as an ornament by the nobles and great men, and bound upon the forehead in the days of victory, preferment, and rejoicing; on which occasions they are anointed with new, or sweet oil; a circum-

stance which David expressly unites with that of lifting up, or erecting the horn. How far this visible horn might have added to the princely appearance of Futty Sihng I cannot determine; without it, he certainly had no dignity, being short of stature, of a dark complexion, and mean appearance. He was then forty years of age, had been married to several wives, but had only one child, betrothed a little time before to a young man of family in the Deccan. Futty Sihng sent a chopdar to me at Dhuboy, with a letter of invitation to the wedding, then celebrating at Brodera at a great expense, and of long continuance. The letter, as usual from oriental princes, was written on silver paper, flowered with gold, with an additional sprinkling of saffron, enclosed under a cover of gold brocade. The letter was accompanied by a bag of crimson and gold keem-caub, filled with sweet-scented seeds, as a mark of favour and good omen. For on these occasions the brahminical astrologers and soothsayers are always particularly consulted.

For several reasons I declined accepting Futty Sihng's invitation to his daughter's wedding, especially on account of the presents to be given and received on the occasion; for gifts at these oriental visits are far from being always disinterested, or outward tokens of friendship, especially at a Mahratta durbar; a return of equal, if not superior value, is generally expected. In a late British embassy to Mahi Rajah Doulut Rao Scindia, one of the great Mahratta princes, after a polite reception and the etiquette usual at a first public visit, the *khiluts*, or presents, were brought in, consisting of eight trays for the ambassador, filled with shawls, muslins, turbans, and brocades; and one for each of the gentlemen who ac-

companied him, in which were a pair of shawls, a piece of brocade, a piece of muslin, a turban, &c. The Mah Rajah then fastened with his own hands a *sirpech*, or ornament of emeralds upon the ambassador's hat; one of the sirdars did the same by the other gentlemen, after having first offered the jewel to be touched by the sovereign's hand. Ottar of roses, spices and betel were then distributed in the same manner by his highness to the ambassador, and by one of his chiefs to the rest of the party. When they took leave, a horse and an elephant, neither of them of much value, were waiting without for the ambassador's acceptance. The visit was not returned until ten days afterwards, in consequence of some disputes having arisen respecting the number of presents to be given to the Mah Rajah and his suite. *One hundred and fifty* were at first demanded, which were afterwards reduced to *sixty-seven*. This species of arithmetic was so well understood at the mean and mercenary court of the Brodera chieftain, that I pretended business, and absented myself from the nuptials, where I understood every thing was conducted with an ostentatious parsimony peculiar to a Mahratta durbar: for the Mogul princes, as far as their declining fortunes admit, still preserve a degree of splendor, taste, and generosity, unknown among modern Hindoo sovereigns, of whom Futty Sihng was perhaps one of the meanest.

The wedding of Vazeer Ally, eldest son of Asuf-ud-Dowlah, nabob of Oude, celebrated at Lucknow in 1795, was one of the most magnificent in modern times. Its description by an eye-witness, forms a splendid contrast to the shabby proceedings at Brodera, and far exceeds any thing I had an opportunity of seeing amongst the princes of Guzerat, or during my residence in India.

"All the omrahs and great men of the country were invited to this festivity, and a party of English ladies and gentlemen went to the celebration on elephants caparisoned. The nabob had his tents pitched on the plains, near the city of Lucknow; among the number were two remarkably large, made of strong cotton cloth, lined with the finest English broad-cloth, cut in stripes of different colours, with cords of silk and cotton. These two tents cost five lacs of rupees, or above fifty thousand pounds sterling; they were each an hundred and twenty feet long, sixty broad, and the poles about sixty feet high: the walls of the tents were ten feet high; part of them were cut into lattice-work for the women of the nabob's seraglio, and those of the principal nobility, to see through. In front of the tent prepared for our reception was a large shumeeana, or awning, of fine English broad-cloth, supported on sixty poles covered with silver; this awning was about an hundred feet long and as many broad. We were received with great politeness by the nabob, who conducted us to one of the largest tents destined for the men, where we sat for about an hour. His highness was covered with jewels, to the amount at least of two millions sterling. From thence we removed to the shumeeana, which was illuminated by two hundred elegant girandoles from Europe, as many glass shades with wax candles, and several hundred flambeaux; the glare and reflection was dazzling, and offensive to the sight. When seated under this extensive canopy, above a hundred dancing-girls, richly dressed, went through their elegant, but rather lascivious dances and motions, and sung some soft airs of the country, chiefly Persic and Hindoo-Persic. About seven o'clock, the bridegroom Vazeer Ally, the young nabob, made his appear-

ance, so absurdly loaded with jewels that he could scarcely stagger under the precious weight. The bridegroom was about thirteen years of age, the bride ten; they were both of a dark complexion, and not handsome.

"From the shumeeana we proceeded on elephants to an extensive and beautiful garden, about a mile distant. The procession was grand beyond conception: it consisted of above twelve hundred elephants, richly caparisoned, drawn up in a regular line like a regiment of soldiers. About a hundred elephants in the centre had houdas, or castles, covered with silver; in the midst of these appeared the nabob, mounted on an uncommonly large elephant, within a houdah covered with gold, richly set with precious stones. The elephant was caparisoned with cloth of-gold. On his right hand was Mr. George Johnstone, the British resident at the court of Lucknow; on his left the young bridegroom; the English gentlemen and ladies and the native nobility were intermixed on the right and left. On both sides of the road, from the tents to the garden, were raised artificial scenery of bamboo-work, very high, representing bastions, arches, minarets, and towers, covered with lights in glass lamps, which made a grand display. On each side of the procession, in front of the line of elephants, were dancing-girls superbly dressed, (on platforms supported and carried by bearers) who danced as we went along. These platforms consisted of a hundred on each side of the procession, all covered with gold and silver cloths, with two girls and two musicians at each platform.

"The ground from the tents to the garden, forming the road on which we moved, was *inlaid* with fire-works; at every step of

the elephants the earth burst before us, and threw up artificial stars in the heavens, to emulate those created by the hand of Providence; besides innumerable rockets, and many hundred wooden shells that burst in the air, and shot forth a thousand fiery serpents; these, winding through the atmosphere, illuminated the sky, and, aided by the light of the bamboo scenery, turned a dark night into a bright day. The procession moved on very slowly, to give time for the fire-works inlaid in the ground to go off. The whole of this grand scene was further lighted by above three thousand flambeaux, carried by men hired for the occasion. In this manner we moved on in stately pomp to the garden, which, though only a mile off, we took two hours to reach. When we arrived at the garden gate we descended from the elephants and entered the garden, illuminated by innumerable transparent paper lamps, or lanterns, of various colours, suspended to the branches of the trees. In the centre of the garden was a large edifice, to which we ascended, and were introduced into a grand saloon, adorned with girandoles and pendant lustres of English manufacture, lighted with wax candles. Here we had an elegant and sumptuous collation of European and Indian dishes, with wines, fruits, and sweetmeats; at the same time above a hundred dancing-girls sung their sprightly airs, and performed their native dances.

"Thus passed the time until dawn, when we all returned to our respective homes, delighted and wonder-struck with this enchanting scene, which surpassed in splendor every entertainment of the kind beheld in this country. The affable nabob rightly observed, with a little Asiatic vanity, that such a spectacle was never before seen in India, and never would be seen again. The whole

expense of this marriage feast, which was repeated for three successive nights in the same manner, cost upwards of three hundred thousand pounds sterling."

"Asuf-ud-Dowlah, since deceased, was the son of the famous, or rather infamous Shujah-ud-Dowlah, nabob of Oude, who was conquered by the arms of the British East India company, directed by the invincible Clive. He died in 1775, leaving the character of a bold, enterprizing, and rapacious prince. His son, Asuf-ud-Dowlah, succeeded to the government by the assistance of the East India company. Mild in manners, polite and affable in his conduct, he possessed no great mental powers; his heart was good, considering his education, which instilled the most despotic ideas. He was fond of lavishing his treasures on gardens, palaces, horses, elephants, European guns, lustres, and mirrors. He expended every year about two hundred thousand pounds in English manufactures. This nabob had more than an hundred gardens, twenty palaces, twelve hundred elephants, three thousand fine saddle horses, fifteen hundred double-barrel guns, seventeen hundred superb lustres, thirty thousand shades of various form and colour; several hundred large mirrors, girandoles, and clocks; some of the latter were very curious, richly set with jewels, having figures in continual movement, and playing tunes every hour; two of these clocks cost him thirty thousand pounds. Without taste or judgment, he was extremely solicitous to possess all that was elegant and rare; he had instruments and machines of every art and science, but he knew none; and his museum was so ridiculously displayed, that a wooden cuckoo clock was placed close to a superb time-piece which cost the price of a diadem; and a valu-

able landscape of Claude Lorraine suspended near a board painted with ducks and drakes. He sometimes gave a dinner to ten or twelve persons sitting at their ease in a carriage drawn by elephants. His haram contained above five hundred of the greatest beauties of India, immured in high walls which they were never to leave, except on their biers. He had an immense number of domestic servants, and a very large army, besides being fully protected from hostile invasion by the company's subsidiary forces, for which he paid five hundred thousand pounds per annum. His jewels amounted to about eight millions sterling. I saw him in the midst of this precious treasure, handling them as a child does his toys." L. F. Smith.

I do not insert Futty Sihng's nuptial invitation, nor any of his letters to me during my residence at Dhuboy; the contents were seldom interesting, and the style far from elegant. A letter from Mirza Zummum, vizier at Cambay, has afforded one specimen of Persian writing; the two following, from a Mahomedan and Hindoo sovereign, of very different characters, will be a sufficient illustration of modern oriental epistles. For the first, from the celebrated Hyder Ally Khaun, and the anecdote accompanying it, I am indebted to Sir James Sibbald, formerly ambassador at the court of that nabob: for the latter, to Sir Charles Malet, who filled the same character at the Mahratta durbar.

In the rainy season of 1768, during the war which the East India Company were then carrying on against Hyder Ally, Sir James Sibbald proceeded from Tellicherry to Coimbatoor, where Colonel Wood commanded a detachment from the Madras army, in order to obtain information of the state of the war in that part

of Hyder's country, that a plan of co-operation might be adopted with the Bombay presidency, for the renewal of hostilities against his possessions on the Malabar coast, at the opening of the fair season. On arriving at Coimbatoor, he found Colonel Wood's detachment had taken possession of the greatest part of that province; the nabob himself, with a large force, being employed in obstructing the operations of Colonel Smith, in command of the main army then at Colah, and preparing for the siege of Bangalore. The difficulty of bringing Hyder to a pitched battle threatened destruction to our affairs; for his mode of carrying on the war by avoiding any decisive engagement, and by cutting off our supplies of provisions, obliged us to abandon the advantages almost as soon as gained, by compelling a hasty retreat for want of provisions. In this situation the government of Madras determined to equip Colonel Wood's army with a light train of artillery and a picked body of sepoys; in the hope, that by the velocity of their movements they might bring Hyder to action, and thereby leave Colonel Smith with the main army to proceed uninterrupted to Bangalore. But however sanguine were the expectations of the Madras government, Colonel Wood found it a vain attempt to bring the nabob to an action, although he had been following him in different directions for many weeks, according to the best intelligence he could obtain of his movements.

At length Colonel Wood, completely harassed and weary of the pursuit, adopted a very singular expedient to effect his purpose: he wrote a letter to Hyder Ally, stating that it was disgraceful for a great prince, at the head of a large army, to fly before a detachment of infantry and a few pieces of cannon, unsupported

by cavalry. The nabob's answer to this extraordinary letter transmits a very impressive trait of that great man's character.

"I HAVE received your letter, in which you invite me "to an action with your army. Give me the same sort of troops "that you command, and your wishes shall be accomplished. You "will in time understand my mode of warfare. Shall I risk my "cavalry, which cost a thousand rupees each horse, against your "cannon balls which cost two pice?* No.—I will march your "troops until their legs shall become the size of their bodies.— "You shall not have a blade of grass, nor a drop of water. I will "hear of *you* every time your drum beats, but you shall not know "where I am once a month.—I *will* give your army battle, but it "it must be when I please, and not when you choose."

Every word in this letter proved true. The incessant fatigue which Colonel Wood's detachment underwent, brought on such complaints among the troops that he was obliged to leave a great number in different garrisons of Coimbatoor. By keeping a piquet of horse to watch Colonel Wood's motions, and establishing telegraphs on signal posts in different parts of the country, Hyder exactly knew every movement his army made; and, by laying waste the country, and destroying the tanks and wells as Colonel Wood advanced, the latter was frequently obliged to retreat for want of forage and water. To complete his promise, and fulfil his threat of giving battle to the British army when *he* thought proper, Hyder surprized Colonel Wood at Manbagul, and brought him to an engagement, in which he lost all his artillery, and nothing saved

* A piece of copper equal to a penny.

his little army but the advance of Colonel Smith; who, upon hearing a heavy cannonade at day-break that morning, marched immediately from Colah, and reached the spot in time to compel Hyder to fall back, at the moment when Colonel Wood's troops were upon the point of being entirely defeated.

The other specimen of an oriental epistle is from the peshwa of the Mahratta empire to the king of Great Britain, accompanying some valuable presents, intrusted to the care of Sir Charles Malet, late ambassador at that durbar, on his departure for England in 1798. This was accompanied by another letter, expressive of the peshwa's friendship to the English East India Company: that to his majesty was the first instance of the Mahratta durbar making a declaration of attachment to a British sovereign.

Translation of a letter from Soude Badjerou Ragonath, peshwa of the Mahratta empire, to his Majesty George the Third, King of Great Britain, &c. &c.

"May the august assembly of spiritual and temporal majesty, may the congregation of glory and royalty, long derive splendor from the princely virtues of your majesty, pre-eminent among the inheritors of grandeur and magnificence, supporter of the mighty and illustrious, chosen of the tribunal of the Almighty, elect of the judgment-seat of infinity!

"Some time ago the exalted Sir Charles Warre Malet was appointed by the mighty chiefs of Calcutta to reside at the court of your well-wisher, in the character of their minister; which respectable gentleman, being endowed with foresight and expe-

rience in business, was always employed in, and devoted to strengthening the mutual friendship, and increasing the cordiality of the two states; but having, at this season, adopted the resolution of returning to England, he has taken leave, and proceeded towards that quarter; which opportunity has been embraced to transmit, under his care, for your majesty's gracious acceptance, sundry pieces of cloth and articles of jewellery, agreeable to the accompanying catalogue, which he will have the honour of presenting to your majesty; and we have a firm hope they will be honoured with your majesty's approval.

"Your majesty, looking on your well-wisher (the peshwa) as one of those sincerely studious of your good-will, will be pleased to honour him with your exalted letters, which will be deemed a gracious proof of your majesty's kindness and attention. May your empire and prosperity be everlasting!"

The presents from the Mahratta peshwa to his Britannic majesty, mentioned in the preceding letter, consisted of two hundred and thirty-two diamonds, rubies, and emeralds, set in various ornaments; two strings containing an hundred and twenty beautiful pearls; and a large pearl, pendant to an ornament of diamonds and emeralds, called a *jeega*. These were accompanied by a complete Indian dress of costly materials, and twenty valuable shawls.

These may be esteemed a magnificent present from a Hindoo prince at this period. More must depend upon the value than the number of jewels sent by the durbar at Poonah to the British sovereign—of that I can give no estimate, but the Mahratta khilluts, and all the presents I have heard of in modern times, dwindle

into insignificance when compared with those recorded of the Mogul emperors and sultauns of Deccan. A peace-offering from Dewal Roy to Sultaun Firoze Shah, consisted of ten lacs of pagodas, a sum amounting to near four hundred thousand pounds sterling; fifty elephants, most probably richly caparisoned; two thousand slaves of both sexes, accomplished in singing, dancing, and music. To these were added pearls, diamonds, rubies, and emeralds, to an inestimable value. This magnificent present, so greatly exceeding those usually sent from one oriental sovereign to another, was to effect a reconciliation, and procure the sultaun's favour after a rebellion; but there are many instances of dresses richly set with jewels, Arabian horses shod with gold, in caparisons embossed with rubies and emeralds, and other superb presents from eastern sovereigns to their favourites, which realize half the fictions performed by the obedient genii of Aladdin's wonderful lamp.

Such was the magnificence of former ages: all is now reversed; and it appears as if the courage, magnanimity and generosity which once adorned the character of the Hindoo and Mahometan princes, had vanished with their fortunes. The more I saw of the petty Asiatic sovereigns and their system of government, the less I thought them deserving of estimation. Virtue finds no asylum in an Indian durbar; sensual pleasure and oppressive tyranny extend through all the higher ranks. To gratify the avarice of men in power and administer to their pleasures, the inferior classes of society submit: the Duans, Pundits, and petty tyrants of every description, are in their turn fleeced by the ruling despot; if his iniquitous demands are gratified, he never inquires by what means the money was accumulated. Thus I have described it in the

Concan and Malabar, thus I found it at every court I visited in Guzerat, whether Mahratta or Mahomedan. On the extent of human misery under such a dreadful system of government, it is painful and needless to enlarge—it is universal throughout Hindostan; none attempt to stem the torrent of venality and corruption. The conduct of great and small is influenced by fear, for which Montesquieu assigns sufficient reasons. The more we develope oriental courts, the more we are convinced that the beautiful animating principle of patriotic virtue is entirely unknown.

I must on all occasions exempt the great Akber, and his virtuous minister Abul Fazel, from general censure. In a former chapter I mentioned two Hindoos of liberal sentiments and considerable acquirements in literature, art, and science. These, and a few similar characters which occasionally occur, form a pleasing contrast to the general picture of the higher orders in India; and indicate, that, among the Hindoos especially, there are minds open to literary and philosophical pursuits, and I trust also to the reception of truth; to the balmy comforts of that religion which alone produces true happiness in this life, and bliss eternal in that which is to come. Notwithstanding the prejudice of caste and other causes, which it is acknowledged operate powerfully against the general introduction of Christianity, and melioration among the lower classes of Hindoos; there are instances in every rank, from the haughty brahmin to the poor Chandalah, which prove that a change may be effected, and conversion take place. The attempt has been made and succeeded, and will, I have no doubt, in due time be wisely directed throughout the whole empire of British India.

"Britain, thy voice can bid the light descend;
On thee alone, the eyes of Asia bend!
High Arbitress! to thee her hopes are given,
Sole pledge of bliss, and delegate of heaven:
In thy dread mantle all her fates repose,
Or bright with blessings, or o'ercast with woes;
And future ages shall thy mandate keep,
Smile at thy touch, or at thy bidding weep.
Oh! to thy godlike destiny arise!
Awake, and meet the purpose of the skies!
Wide as thy sceptre waves, let India learn
What virtues round the shrine of incense burn;
Some nobler flight let thy bold genius tower,
Nor stoop to vulgar lures of fame or power;
Such power as gluts the tyrant's purple pride,
Such fame as reeks around the homicide.
With peaceful trophies deck thy throne, nor bare
Thy conquering sword, till Justice ask the war:
Justice alone can consecrate renown,
Her's are the brightest rays in Glory's crown;
All else, nor eloquence nor song sublime
Can screen from curse, or sanctify from crime.

Let gentler arts awake at thy behest,
And science sooth the Hindoo's mournful breast.
In vain has Nature shed her gift around,
For eye or ear, soft bloom or tuneful sound;
Fruits of all hues on every grove display'd,
And pour'd profuse the tamarind's gorgeous shade.
What joy to him can song or shade afford,
Outcast so abject, by himself abhorr'd?
While chain'd to dust, half struggling, half resign'd,
Sinks to her fate the heaven-descended mind,
Disrob'd of all her lineaments sublime,
The daring hope whose glance outmeasur'd time,

Warm passions to the voice of rapture strung,
And conscious thought, that told her whence she sprung.
At Brahma's stern decree, as ages roll,
New shapes of clay await th' immortal soul;
Darkling condemn'd in forms obscene to prowl,
And swell the melancholy midnight howl.
Be thine the task, his drooping eye to cheer,
And elevate his hopes beyond this sphere,
To brighter heavens than proud Sumeera owns,
Though girt with Indra and his burning thrones.
Then shall he recognize the beams of day,
And fling at once the four-fold chain away;
Through every limb a sudden life shall start,
And sudden pulses spring around his heart:
Then all the deaden'd energies shall rise,
And vindicate their title to the skies.
Be these thy trophies, Queen of many isles!
On these high Heaven shall shed indulgent smiles.
First by thy guardian voice to India led,
Shall Truth divine her tearless victories spread;
Wide and more wide the heaven-born light shall stream,
New realms from thee shall catch the blissful theme,
Unwonted warmth the soften'd savage feel,
Strange chiefs admire, and turban'd warriors kneel;
The prostrate East submit her jewell'd pride,
And swarthy kings adore the CRUCIFIED!" C. GRANT.

Beautiful as is the whole poem, from whence the preceding lines are taken, we may indulge the hope that it contains something far beyond the pleasing fictions of poetry. It is impossible to calculate the effects which may ultimately be produced by Asiatic researches, and the noble establishment of the college at Calcutta. From the revival of science, learning, and true philo-

sophy on the banks of the Ganges, we may expect to see the temples of Vishnoo consecrated to the worship of Jehovah, and brahminical groves, now seminaries for astrology, geomancy, and frivolous pursuits, become the seats of classical learning and liberal sentiment. The climate of India does not militate against patriotic virtue and manly attainments, although it may in some degree depress their energy. Greece, now the abode of the ignorant, indolent, and illiberal Turk, was once the theatre of wisdom, virtue, and glory! Art and science, nurtured in Asia, will, under the auspices of peace and liberty, resume their influence over the fertile regions of Hindostan. Philosophy, religion, and virtue, attended by liberality, taste, and elegance, will revisit a favourite clime; poetry, music, painting, and sculpture, encouraged by the genius of Britain, may there strew the path of virtue with many a fragrant flower.

These when patronized by Akber, and a few other princes, flourished sufficiently to shew what may be again expected. The arts are now at the lowest ebb in India. How far music is encouraged in modern durbars I cannot say. In the splendour of the Mogul empire, music and illuminations seem to have formed a principal evening amusement. Akber, every afternoon, some little time before sun-set, if asleep, was awaked; and when the sun set the attendants lighted twelve camphor candles in twelve massive candlesticks of gold and silver, of various form and beauty; when a singer of sweet melody, taking up one of the candlesticks, sang a variety of delightful airs, and concluded with imploring blessings on his majesty.

I have not touched upon either Hindoo or Mahomedan music;

from my own knowledge, as I can say little on the subject, having been seldom pleased with their vocal or instrumental melody; nor, from those who had better opportunities of being acquainted with it, did I ever hear much in its favour. Yet as it has been differently treated by Sir William Jones, and other writers, I submit to their superior judgment. The former thus writes to a friend respecting it, "You touched an important string when you mentioned the subject of Indian music, of which I am particularly fond. I have just read a very old book on that art in Sanscrit, and hope to present the world with the substance of it as soon as the transactions of our society can be printed."

Sir William Ousely, on the subject of oriental music, says "the books which treat of it are numerous and curious. Sir William Jones mentions the works of Amin, a musician; the *Damadara*, the *Narayan*, the *Ragarnava*, and (not to add any more Indian names) the sea of passions, the delight of assemblies, the doctrine of musical modes, and many other Sanscrit and Hindoostani treatises. To these must be added an essay on the science of music; the object of which is to teach the understanding of the raugs and rauginees, and the playing upon musical instruments. From this work it is briefly stated, that the Hindoos have a gamut, consisting of seven notes, like our own; which being repeated in three several *ast'hans*, or octaves, form in all a scale of twenty-one natural notes. The seven notes which form the gamut are expressed *sa, ra, ga, ma, pa, da, na;* or *sa, ri, ga, ma, pa, dha, ni;* and, when written at length, stand thus: *kau,redge; rekhub; gundhaur; mud,dhum; punchum; dhawoth; neekhaudh.* Of these

seven words (the first excepted) the initial letters are used in writing music to represent the notes. Instead of the initial of the first or lowest, *kau,redge,* that of the word *sur* is used: which signifies emphatically the *note*, being as it were the foundation of the others; and named *swara*, or the *sound*, from the important office which it bears in the scale.

"On the subject of those ancient and extraordinary melodies, which the Hindoos call *raugs* and *rauginees*, the popular traditions are as numerous and romantic, as the powers ascribed to them are miraculous. Of the six *raugs*, the five first owe their origin to the god Mahadew, who produced them from his five heads. Parbuttee, his wife, constructed the sixth; and the thirty rauginees were composed by Brimha. Thus, of celestial invention, these melodies are of a peculiar genus; and of the three ancient genera of the Greeks resemble most the *enharmonic*; the more modern compositions are of that species termed *diatonic*."

"A considerable difficulty is found in setting to music the raugs and rauginees; as our system does not supply notes, or signs, sufficiently expressive of the almost imperceptible elevations and depressions of the voice in these melodies; of which the time is broken and irregular, the modulations frequent and very wild. Whatever magic was in the touch when Orpheus swept his lyre, or Timotheus filled his softly-breathing flute, the effects said to have been produced by two of the six raugs, are even more extraordinary than any of those ascribed to the modes of the ancients. Mia Tousine, a wonderful musician in the time of the emperor Akber, sung one of the *night raugs* at mid-day: the powers of his music were such that it instantly became night; and

the darkness extended in a circle round the palace, as far as the sound of his voice could be heard.

" I shall say little on the tradition of Naik Gopaul, another celebrated musician in the reign of Akber, who was commanded by the emperor to sing the raug *dheepuck;* which whoever attempted to sing should be destroyed by fire—the story is long; Naik Gopaul flew to the river Jumna, and plunged himself up to the neck in water; where, Akber, determined to prove the power of this raug, compelled the unfortunate musician to sing it; when, notwithstanding his situation in the river, flames burst violently from his body and consumed him to ashes.

" These and other anecdotes of the same nature, are related by many of the Hindoos, and implicitly believed by some. The effect produced by the *maig mullaar* raug was immediate rain. And it is told, that a singing girl once, by exerting the powers of her voice in this raug, drew down from the clouds timely and refreshing showers on the parched rice-crops of Bengal, and thereby averted the horrors of famine from the *paradise of regions.* An European, in that country, inquiring after those whose musical performance might produce similar effects, is gravely told " that the art is now almost lost, but that there are still musicians possessed of those wonderful powers in the West of India." If one inquires in the West, they say, ' that if any such performers remain, they are to be found only in Bengal.'

" Of the present music, and the sensations it excites, one can speak with greater accuracy. Many of the Hindoo melodies possess the plaintive simplicity of the Scotch and Irish; and others a wild originality, pleasing beyond description. Counter-

point seems not to have entered, at any time, into the system of Indian music. It is not alluded to in the manuscript treatises which I have hitherto perused; nor have I discovered that any of our ingenious Orientalists speak of it as being known in Hindostan."

Many of the brahmins and principal Hindoos of Dhuboy who attended the royal nuptials at Brodera, gave me an account of the entertainments, which lasted many days. I have already mentioned the nocturnal processions and expensive pageantry on these occasions, but have not particularized the marriage ceremonies, which are given at large by Mr. Colebrook: from his account I subjoin a few of the most striking features, which vary but little throughout Hindostan.

"The marriage ceremony opens with the solemn reception of the bridegroom by the father of the bride. Having previously performed the obsequies of ancestors, as is usual upon any accession of good fortune, the father of the bride sits down to await the bridegroom's arrival, in the apartment prepared for the purpose, and at the time chosen for it, according to the rules of astrology. The jewels, and other presents intended for him, are placed there; a cow is tied on the northern side of the apartment, and a stool or cushion, and other furniture for the reception of the guest, are arranged in order. On his approach the bride's father rises to welcome him, and recites a short prayer, while the bridegroom stands before him. After the mention of many previous ceremonies, presents suitable to the rank of the parties are then presented to the guest. At the marriage ceremony, too, the bride is formally given by her father to the bridegroom in this stage of

the solemnity according to some rituals, but later according to others. The hospitable rites are then concluded by letting loose the cow, at the intercession of the guest, who says "kill not the innocent harmless cow, who is mother of RUDRAS, daughter of VASU'S, sister of A'DYTAS, and the source of ambrosia. May she expiate my sins! release her that she may graze." It is evident that the bridegroom's intercessions imply a practice, now become obsolete, of slaying a cow for the purposes of hospitality.

Many pages of ceremonies then follow, which lead to one of more consequence: when the bridegroom puts his left hand under the bride's hands, which are joined together in a hollow form, and then taking her right hand in his, he recites the six following texts. "First, I take thee for the sake of good fortune, that thou mayest become old with me, thy husband. May the generous, mighty, and prolific sun render thee a matron, that I may be a householder. Second, Be gentle in thy aspect, and loyal to thy husband; be fortunate in cattle; amiable in thy mind, and beautiful in thy person; be mother of surviving sons; be assiduous at the five sacraments; be cheerful, and bring prosperity to our bipeds and quadrupeds. Third, May the lord of creatures grant us progeny, even unto old age; may the sun render that progeny conspicuous. Auspicious deities have given thee to me. Enter thy husband's abode; and bring health to our bipeds and quadrupeds. Fourth, O INDRA, who pourest forth rain! render this woman fortunate and the mother of children: grant her ten sons, give her eleven protectors. Fifth, Be submissive to thy husband's father, to his mother, to his sister, and to his brothers. Sixth, Give thy

heart to my religious duties; may thy mind follow mine; be thou consentient to my speech. May Vrihaspati unite thee unto me."

This is succeeded by a variety of other ceremonies, mentioned at large by Mr. Colebrook. During the three subsequent days the married couple must abstain from factitious salt, live chastely and austerely, and sleep on the ground. On the following day, that is, on the fourth exclusively, the bridegroom conducts the bride to his own house on a carriage, or other suitable conveyance. He recites the following text when she ascends the carriage. "O wife of the sun! ascend this vehicle, resembling the beautiful blossoms of the cotton-tree, and butea, tinged with various tints, and coloured like gold; well constructed; furnished with good wheels, and the source of ambrosia (that is, of blessings), bring happiness to thy husband!" Proceeding with his bride, he, or some other person for him, recites the following text on their coming to a cross road: "May robbers, who infest the road, remain ignorant of this journey; may the married couple reach a place of security and difficult of access by easy roads, and may foes keep aloof!"

Alighting from the carriage, the bridegroom leads the bride into the house, chanting the hymn called *Vámadévya.* Matrons welcome the bride, and make her sit down on a bull's hide; the bridegroom then recites the following prayer: "May kine here produce numerous young; may horses and human beings do so; and may the deity sit here, by whose favour sacrifices are accomplished with gifts a thousand fold."

I shall not detail the further ceremonies and sacrificial fires in

the bridegroom's house; those of the whole nuptial solemnity may be thus recapitulated. The bridegroom goes in procession to the house where the bride's father resides, and is there welcomed as a guest. The bride is given to him by her father, in the form usual at every solemn donation, and their hands are bound together with *cusa* grass; he clothes the bride with an upper and lower garment, and the skirts of her mantle and his are tied together. The bridegroom makes oblations to fire, and the bride drops rice on it as an oblation. The bridegroom solemnly takes her hand in marriage. She treads on a stone and mullar. They walk round the fire: the bride steps seven times, conducted by the bridegroom, and he then dismisses the spectators, the marriage being now complete and irrevocable. In the evening of the same day the bride sits down on a bull's hide, and the bridegroom points out to her the polar star, as an emblem of stability. They then partake of a meal. The bridegroom remains three days at the house of the bride's father. On the fourth day he conducts her to his own house in solemn procession. She is there welcomed by his kindred; and the solemnity ends with oblations to fire.

In my letter, appropriated to the Hindoos, I mentioned the custom of marrying their children in a state of infancy. It is as much practised in Guzerat, as in other parts of Hindostan; although great part of the preceding ceremonies are intended for persons more advanced in life. On this part of the subject Mr. Colebrook remarks, that "among the Hindoos a girl is married before the age of puberty; the law even censures the delay of the marriage beyond the tenth year. For this reason, and because

the bridegroom too may be an infant, it is rare that a marriage should be consummated until long after it solemnization. The recital of prayers on this occasion constitutes it a religious ceremony, and it is the first of those that are performed for the purpose of expiating the sinful taint which a child is supposed to have contracted in the womb of his mother."

"On the practice of immature nuptials, a subject suggested in the preceding paragraph, it may be remarked, that it arises from a laudable motive; from a sense of duty incumbent on a father, who considers as a debt the obligation of providing a suitable match for his daughter. This notion, which is strongly inculcated by Hindoo legislators, is forcibly impressed on the minds of parents. But in their zeal to dispose of a daughter in marriage, they do not perhaps sufficiently consult her domestic felicity. By the death of an infant husband, she is condemned to virgin widowhood for the period of her life. If both survive, the habitual bickerings of their infancy are prolonged in perpetual discord.

"Numerous restrictions in the assortment of matches impose on parents this necessity of embracing the earliest opportunity of affiancing their children to fit companions. The intermarriages of different classes, formerly permitted, with certain limitations, are now wholly forbidden. The prohibited degrees extend to the sixth of affinity; and even the bearing of the same family name is a sufficient cause of impediment."

Another writer on the Hindoo marriages, after reciting the previous ceremonies, says "the *tali*, which is a ribbon with a golden head hanging to it, is held ready; and, being shewn to the company, some prayers and blessings are pronounced; after which

the bridegroom takes it, and hangs it about the bride's neck. This knot is what particularly secures his possession of her: for, before he had put the *tali* on, all the rest of the ceremonies might have been made to no purpose. But when once the tali is put on, the marriage is indissoluble; and, whenever the husband dies, the tali is burnt along with him, to shew that the marriage bands are broken." It is this part of the ceremony to which Southey alludes in the "*Curse of Kehama*," where Azla and Nealliny, the two wives of Arvalan, are sacrificed on his funeral pile; the one voluntarily, the other by compulsion. These stanzas contain an animated description of the ceremony, from which I shall only select that in which the tali, or marriage knot, is particularly mentioned.

> "Woe! woe! for Azla takes her seat
> Upon the funeral pile!
> Calmly she took her seat,
> Calmly the whole terrific pomp survey'd;
> As on her lap the while
> The lifeless head of Arvalan was laid;
> Woe! woe! Nealliny,
> The young Nealliny!
> They strip her ornaments away,
> Bracelet and anklet, ring, and chain, and zone;
> Around her neck they leave
> *The marriage knot alone;*
> That marriage band, which when
> Yon waning moon was young,
> Around her virgin neck
> With bridal joy was hung.
> Then with white flowers, the coronal of death,
> Her jetty locks they crown."

About the time of his daughter's wedding, Futty Sihng paid a visit to the officers of the Bengal detachment, then encamped near Brodera. He wished to consult them upon an intended alteration in his artillery, and to be present at the experiment. The chieftain left the durbar on a state elephant, and the customary cavalcade: arriving at the bottom of the eminence where the field-pieces were mounted, it was found the elephant could not ascend, and there being no palanquin at hand, the prince of the Guicawars was compelled to alight, and walk a few yards to the summit, to the astonishment of the attendants, who thought it derogatory to his dignity. On advancing, the chopdars, or heralds, proclaimed the titles of this princely cow-keeper in the usual hyperbolical style. One of the most insignificant looking men I ever saw then became the destroyer of nations, the leveller of mountains, the exhauster of the ocean. After commanding every inferior mortal to make way for this exalted prince, the heralds called aloud to the animal creation, Retire, ye serpents; fly, ye locusts; approach not, guanas, lizards, and reptiles, while your lord and master condescends to set his foot on the earth.

Arrogant as this language may appear, it is less so than that of oriental pageantry in general. In a translation from the Sanscrit, Mr. Wilkins mentions an eastern monarch "whose innumerable army, when it moved, so filled the heavens with the dust of their feet, that the birds of the air could rest upon it. His elephants moved like walking mountains; and the earth, oppressed by their weight, mouldered into dust." The sacred writings afford many instances of such hyperbole; none more so than Hushai's speech to Absalom. "Thou knowest that king David, thy father, and his men, that

they be mighty men; and they be chafed in their minds, as a bear robbed of her whelps. Therefore I counsel thee that all Israel be gathered unto thee, from Dan even unto Beersheba, as the sand that is by the sea for multitude: and we will light upon him as the dew falleth upon the ground. Moreover, if he be gotten into a city, then shall all Israel bring ropes into that city; and we will draw it into the river, until there be not one stone found there."

Such adulation has always been practised in Asia; and was carried to the most arrogant height by the Roman emperors of the East, even after their conversion to Christianity. Gibbon says, " the most lofty titles, and the most humble postures which devotion has applied to the Supreme Being, have been prostituted by flattery and fear to creatures of the same nature with ourselves. The mode of adoration, of falling prostrate on the ground, and kissing the feet of the emperor, was borrowed from Persian servitude; but it was continued and aggravated till the last age of the Greek monarchy. This humiliating reverence was exacted from all who entered the royal presence, from the princes invested with the diadem and purple, and from the ambassadors who represented their independent sovereigns, the caliphs of Asia, Egypt, or Spain, the kings of France and Italy, and the Latin emperors of ancient Rome. Liutprand, ambassador from Otho, thus describes his own introduction. " When he approached the throne, the birds of the golden tree began to warble their notes, which were accompanied by the roarings of two lions of gold; with his two companions, Liutprand was compelled to bow and to fall prostrate; and thrice he touched the ground with his forehead.

He rose, but in the short interval, the throne had been hoisted by an engine from the floor to the cieling, the imperial figure appeared in new and more gorgeous apparel, and the interview was concluded in haughty and majestic silence." On the eve of a procession, the gracious or devout intention of the emperor was proclaimed by the heralds: the streets were cleared and purified; the pavement was strewed with flowers; the most precious furniture, the gold and silver plate, and silken hangings, were displayed from the windows and balconies, and a severe discipline restrained and silenced the tumult of the populace. The march was opened by the military officers at the head of their troops; they were followed in long order by the magistrates and ministers of the civil government. The person of the emperor was guarded by his eunuchs and domestics, and at the church-door he was solemnly received by the patriarch and his clergy. The task of applause was not abandoned to the rude and spontaneous voices of the crowd. Convenient stations were occupied by chosen bands, who in responsive melody echoed the praises of the emperor. Their poets and musicians directed the choir, and long life and victory were the burden of every song."

Such was the style of ancient adulation; the ostentatious and expensive entertainments of Asuph ul Dowlah have afforded an ample display of modern pageantry; perhaps none like it will be any more exhibited, for such things must be nearly at an end with the Indian princes; their wealth, their power, their palaces, their mausoleums, wells, and serais, are all decaying, without a prospect of revival. Few places of less importance than the royal Mogul cities evince this melancholy change more than Brodera.

The sovereign, the capital, army, peasantry, every thing that depends on Futty Sihng's administration, displays his oppression, weakness, and bad taste.

Almost the only commendable trait in Futty Sihng's character seemed to be his wisdom and policy in so long preserving the attachment and faithful services of his virtuous vizier, or duan, Hiroo Nand, then lately deceased, as hereafter mentioned. His immediate friends and companions were men of debauched principles and infamous conduct. The Ayeen Akbery would have taught the Brodera chief a better lesson; from another virtuous vizier, the wise Abul Fazel, he would there have learned, that "the companions of a prince, whose advice he follows in affairs of moment, resemble water. When they are of a mild temperament, they wash off the dust of affliction from the hearts of the distressed, and diffuse freshness and delight. But if they depart from moderation, they inundate the world with a deluge of calamities; so that numbers are overwhelmed by the billowy waves of misfortune. Speaking of his own sovereign, the immortal Akber, he says, it is his constant endeavour to gain and secure the hearts of all men. Amidst a thousand cares and perplexing avocations, he suffers not his temper to be in any degree disturbed, but is always cheerful. He is ever striving to do that which may be most acceptable to the Deity, and employs his mind on profound and abstract speculations. From his thirst after wisdom, he is continually labouring to benefit by the knowledge of others, while he makes no account of his own sagacious administration. He listens to what every one hath to say, because it may happen that his heart may be enlightened by the communication of a just

sentiment, or by the relation of a laudable action. But although a long period has elapsed in this practice, he has never yet met with a person whose judgment he could prefer to his own: nay, the most experienced statesmen, on beholding this ornament of the throne, blush at their own insufficiency, and study anew the arts of government; nevertheless, out of the abundance of his sagacity, he will not suffer himself to quit the paths of inquiry. Although he be surrounded with power and splendour, yet he never suffers himself to be led away by anger or wrath. Others employ story-tellers to lull them to sleep, but his majesty, on the contrary, listens to them to keep him awake. From the excess of his righteousness he exercises upon himself both inward and outward austerities; and pays some regard to external forms, in order that those who are attached to established customs, may not have any cause for reproach.

" He never laughs at, nor ridicules any religion or sect. He never wastes his time, nor omits the performance of any duty; so that through the blessing of his upright intentions, every action of his life may be considered as an adoration of the Deity. He is continually returning thanks unto Providence, and scrutinizing his own conduct. But he most especially so employs himself at the following stated times: at day-break, when the sun begins to diffuse his rays; at noon, when that grand illuminator of the universe shines in full resplendence; in the evening, when he disappears from the inhabitants of the earth; and again at midnight, when he recommences his ascent. His life is an uninterrupted series of virtues and sound morality. God is witness that the wise of all ranks are unanimous in this declaration."

We must allow something for the partiality of a grateful minister, during a long period high in the favour of a sovereign who truly appreciated his services: but it will be generally granted that Akber is one of the finest characters recorded in history; approaching, perhaps, the nearest to our own Alfred.

> "In whom the splendour of heroic war,
> "And more heroic peace, when govern'd well,
> "Combine: whose hallow'd name, the Virtues saint,
> "And his own Muses love; the best of Kings!" Thomson.

Akber had not the trials of Alfred; he had not been taught in the school of adversity. Few reigns have been so long, fewer so prosperous as Akber's; yet he always preserved a consistency of character. The annual ceremony of weighing the imperial sovereign, with its consequent largesses, as also his mode of alms-giving, ought not to pass unnoticed. To the poor and needy Akber bestowed money and necessaries of every kind, gladdening the hearts of all in public or private. Many were allowed daily, monthly, or annual pensions, which they received regularly, without any delay or deduction. Besides those establishments, the sums that were daily bestowed upon particular persons, in consequence of representations made in their favour, as well as the food and necessaries constantly distributed amongst the indigent, were beyond description. A treasurer always waited in his presence for that purpose; and every needy person who presented himself before his majesty, had his necessities instantly relieved.

As a means of bestowing a largess upon the indigent, the emperor was weighed twice a year, various articles being put into

the opposite scale. The first time of performing the ceremony, was at the commencement of the Persian month Aban, the solar anniversary of his majesty's birth-day. He was then weighed twelve times against the following articles: gold, quick-silver, raw-silk, artificial perfumes, musk, rootootea, intoxicating drugs, ghee, iron, rice-milk, eight kinds of grain, and salt. At the same time, according to the years he had lived, there were given away a like number of sheep, goats, and fowls, to people who kept those animals for the purpose of breeding. A great number of wild birds were also set at liberty on that occasion. The second time of performing the ceremony was on the fifth of the Arabian month Rejib, when he was weighed eight times against the following things: silver, tin, linen cloth, lead, dried fruits, sesame-oil, and pot-herbs. At the same time the festival of Salgeerah was celebrated, and donations bestowed upon people of all ranks. The king's sons and grandsons were weighed once a year, on the solar anniversary of their respective nativities, against seven or eight things, and some as far as twelve, which number they never exceeded, and according to their respective ages, a certain number of beasts and fowls were given away, and set at liberty. There were appointed for this ceremony a separate treasurer, and mushreff.

The coins and seals of the empire also illustrate the character of Akber: previous to his reign gold, silver, and copper, were coined in various parts of the Mogul empire; he restricted the coinage of gold to four places, Agra, Bengal, Ahmedabad, and Cabul. Silver coin was allowed to be struck in fourteen cities, including the preceding four: mints for copper coin were appointed

in twenty-eight cities. Great attention was paid to assaying and refining the various metals, and to every department of the mint and treasury. The gold and silver intended for the current coin of the realm, when brought to the greatest degree of purity, was committed to the most celebrated artists, to give each specimen the perfection of beauty. It is well known the coins, medals, and signets of the Mahomedan princes have no portrait or armorial bearings cut on the die from which the coin is to be stamped, as is generally practised in Europe: it is usually impressed with the name of the reigning monarch, the date of the year in the Hegira, and perhaps some appropriate or flattering title. In the reign of Akber were struck those immense gold masses, distinguished as the *immortal coins :* the largest, called *sehenseh,* weighed upwards of one hundred tolahs, in value one hundred *laal jilaly mohurs,* not much short of two hundred pounds sterling; estimating the gold mohur at fifteen silver rupees of half a crown each; others were of half that value; from which they diminished to the small round mohur, valued at nine silver rupees; some of these were marked with flowers, especially the tulip and the rose, but never with the representation of any animated form. In the place of such emblems, Akber had moral sentences, tetrastichs from the Persian poets, the praises of the Almighty, or his own titles, engraved on the die in a most beautiful manner. On the sehenseh were these words on one side:

" The sublime monarch! the most exalted khalif! May God perpetuate his kingdom and his reign! and increase his justice and righteousness!—"

On the reverse of the sehenseh:

" The best coin is that which is employed in supplying men with the necessaries of life, and that benefits the companions in the road to God."

On another coin of the same value is this tetrastich, which is more condensed in the Persian character than in an English translation:

" The sun, from whom the seven seas obtain pearls.

" The black stone from his rays obtains a jewel.

" The mine from the correcting influence of his beams obtains gold.

" That gold is ennobled by the impression of Shah Akber.

" God is the greatest; mighty is his glory!"

On the reverse the date of the month and year, with the following tetrastich:

" This coin, which is the garment of hope, carries an everlast-" ing impression and immortal name."

On some of the smaller coins were the following inscriptions in Persian characters, some of them ornamented with a tulip and wild-rose:

" God is greatest!"—on the reverse, " O Defender!" " God is " greatest! mighty is his glory!"—reverse, the date.

" This current coin accompanies the star of good fortune; the sun nourishes it for this cause, that to eternity it may be ennobled by the impression of Akber Shah."

These are sufficient specimens of Akber's coins; the seals of this illustrious prince were equally characteristic of his piety and justice.

On the seal for petitions were these words,

" Rectitude is the means of pleasing God!

I never saw any one lost in a straight road."

There is one exception in Hindostan, if not more, to the general rule of the Mahomedan emperors not permitting any effigy, or the representation of men and animals on the imperial coins; this is well known to those who have seen the zodiac rupees in India; which, in complete sets, are now only to be met with in the cabinets of the curious, or occasionally found singly in different provinces. I once saw an entire collection of these rupees in silver, and a few others procured by chance of the same metal: those of gold and copper never came within my observation. There are two legends current in India respecting these singular coins. One relates, that in the reign of the emperor Jehangheer, son of the celebrated Akber, and father of Shah Jehan, his favourite Sultana Noor Jehan, or *Light of the World*, a woman of transcendent beauty and genius, having prevailed upon the emperor to grant her power for one day over his empire, she ordered a new coinage in the different metals, to be impressed under twelve varied dies, with the signs of the zodiac, from whence they have been always distinguished by that appellation. This was certainly the most effectual, and perhaps the most ingenious method of giving universality and perpetuity to the existence of her influence over an imperial husband.

Another story rejects the interference of the sultana Noor Jehan, in the coinage of the zodiac rupees, which it rather attributes to a whim of the emperor himself; as Jehangeer was a prince of great eccentricity, and though a Mussulman was a bon-vivant, and possibly issued the order when in a mirthful mood. In refutation of that part of the legend which limits the whole coinage to one day, it is asserted that the zodiac rupees are of different

dates, and it is supposed that the Mogul mint-master had some clever European in his service, from some of the figures being executed in a masterly manner, in the European style. The dies are unequal, and some of the impressions are very different.

Our encampment without the walls of Brodera was so pleasant, that we seldom entered the city; which, like most other Indian towns, was hot, dusty, and disagreeable, affording no attractions to vie with the natural beauties of the country. No groves are more shady, no plains more delightful, no lotos-covered lakes more brilliant, than in the Brodera purgunna. For here they have the addition of that lovely species of the menianthes sometimes seen on the margin of the lakes on Salsette; it is one of the most elegant aquatic plants in Hindostan, smaller than the lotos, with beautiful fringed petals of the purest white, floating on the surface of the water, surrounded by a dark foliage. When not too cold to sit under summeanas without our tents, the moonlight evenings afforded a tranquil pleasure, more easily conceived than described. The air was perfumed from the mogrees and champachs near the Mahomedan mausoleums, whose white domes gave a melancholy interest to the surrounding groves; which after the monkeys, peacocks, and squirrels had retired to rest, were still enlivened by the prolonged notes of the bulbul, continued sometimes an hour after sun-set; this favourite songster was succeeded by the pepeeheh, which frequently serenaded the midnight hour. The pepeeheh is said, by Abul Fazel, to sing most enchantingly during the night, at the commencement of the

rains; when its lays cause the old wounds of lovers to bleed afresh. This bird is also called peeyoo, which in the Sanscrit language signifies *beloved.*

The cold evenings in January often compelled us to leave the summeana, and retire for warmth within our tents. This was the coldest season I ever felt in Guzerat; far more so than is generally experienced in the twenty-third degree of north latitude; it was most intense about an hour before sun-rise; and although there was no ice, the cold was certainly more sharp and penetrating than the autumnal frosts in England. I never met with ice in India, but I have been told some old people at Surat remembered to have seen it. In an interesting journey in 1798, from Mirzapoor to Nagpoor, we find that for several days together, in the month of January, in the twenty-fourth degree of north latitude, the travellers met with sharp frosts, and ice on the ponds and in their vessels, for more than two hours after sun-rise: a thermometer, which had been exposed all night, was covered with icicles in the morning, and stood after sun-rise at 21°. This appears to have been the coldest night exhibited by Fahrenheit's thermometer on that journey; which generally stood at 23° or 24° at sun-rise, rose at noon to 62°, and by ten at night fell to 31°.

The grandest feature, from all our northern encampments on this excursion, was the stupendous mountain of Powa-ghurr; which at that distance appeared a single eminence; but on a nearer approach was observed to be connected with a range of hills, and much picturesque scenery, an account of which is introduced in a future chapter. The water at Powa-ghur, and many mountainous

tracts in Hindostan, is attended with deleterious effects; frequently causing incurable sickness, and the premature death of strangers.

Our tents, on this journey, were more than once pitched near the spot set apart for the Chandalahs; who, as already mentioned, are seldom permitted to reside within the city walls, nor to have their habitations near the other inhabitants in the open towns. The sight of these poor outcasts, with the reflections naturally occurring, from their abject condition, proved an alloy to the notes of the bulbul and the perfume of the champach. It is impossible to behold them without pity, and, while subject to brahminical influence, without hope of amendment. Under my own administration I endeavoured to meliorate their condition; but so rooted were the prejudices of the higher castes, that all attempts were fruitless. The liberal-minded Aul Fazel, discriminating all the other Hindoo castes by some appropriate characteristic, with a frigid brevity, unlike his usual benevolence, says " the chandalahs are vile wretches, who eat carrion." And when mentioning polluted things among the Hindoos, he adds, " water that has been defiled by the *shadow* of a chandalah, is to be purified by sun-shine, moon-shine, or wind, and that wooden vessels, if touched by a chandalah, cannot be purified by any means.

It is curious to observe (although in some measure accounted for in other parts of these volumes) that in fines and punishments for murder, among other castes of Hindoos, no mention is made of killing the poor pariar or outcast chandalah. Amongst the Malabars I have particularly noticed, that if the pooleahs, (similar to the pariars and chandalahs,) appear on the high-road while a

brahmin or nair passes by, or even while their provision is carried along, they are destroyed, like a wild beast, for daring to breathe the same atmosphere with those inflated tribes. Thus says the Hindoo law on murder: "If an inferior kills his superior, he shall suffer death. If a brahmin kills a brahmin, his estate shall be confiscated, and the hair of his head cut off; he shall be branded in the forehead and banished. If a brahmin kills a kehteree, he shall be fined one thousand cows, and a bull. If a brahmin kills a byse, he shall be fined one hundred cows, and a bull. If a brahmin kills a sooder, he shall be fined ten cows and a bull." Here seems to be a regular scale of degradation in human nature; from a thousand cows to ten, according to the elevation or depression of caste: in which the chandalah is not deemed worthy of notice.

The efficient government of a nation whose own laws and privileges (as far as human institutions can) deservedly boast the perfection of jurisprudence, whose monarch extends his sceptre over sixty millions of Asiatic subjects, will surely now be exerted in giving full effect to that wise and benevolent resolution of the House of Commons in 1793; "that it is the peculiar and bounden duty of the legislature to promote, by all just and prudent means, the interests and happiness of the inhabitants of the British dominions in India; and that for these ends, such measures ought to be adopted, as may gradually tend to their advancement in useful knowledge, and to their religious and moral improvement." From so long a residence amongst the exalted brahmins and degraded chandalahs, and witnessing many other evils occasionally mentioned among the natives of India, I cannot refrain

from adding my evidence, however humble, to the mass of knowledge, and brilliant lights, lately thrown on this interesting subject, from abler pens. The more we reflect on the degraded situation of the lower tribes of Hindoos, the more unpleasant are the sensations in a mind of sensibility. This is probably the last time I shall touch upon the theme. I therefore briefly give the sentiments of a mild, unprejudiced observer of the Hindoos; a man of learning and piety, who made his researches amongst the people he describes.*

" The Hindoo superstition makes no provision for the instruction of the great body of the people. The vedas, puranas, and other sacred books contain, it is said, a copious system of the most unexceptionable morality; and from the specimens already translated, this must in part be admitted. But the canonical books of the Hindoos have always been regarded as a bequest too sacred to be committed to vulgar hands; to the far greater part of society they are strictly forbidden, and are doomed to remain, in the most emphatic sense, a dead letter. Nothing can equal the ignorance of the great body of the people, on every subject relating to religion, morals, or literature. Few of them can explain the genealogy or attributes ascribed to their deities. They do not understand the meaning of the ceremonies they attend; and the nature and obligations of their duty they may obscurely feel, but are wholly incapable to describe. The inconvenience of ignorance, so gross and universal, is too obvious to require elucidation: it renders the mass of the people not only dupes to the artifices of priestcraft, but subjects them to the imposition of every

* Dr. Tennant.

charlatan who pretends to skill in any art or science whatever. The charms, incantations, and exorcisms, that here make a part of the medical art, clearly show, that the grossest impositions, in other matters as well as religion, may be turned to account among an uninformed multitude.

"The ignorance of the great body of the natives of India, has shaded their character with a diffidence and timidity, which has not only rendered them the slaves of their own monarchs, or foreigners, in every age, but has degraded them, in some measure, to an inferior rank among human beings. From this condition, which has so often called forth the contempt of the brave, and the compassion of the wise, you in vain endeavour to raise them while their intellects are chained down by the multiplied fetters of their degrading superstition. The higher orders of the brahmins, whose duty it is to undertake this work, and who are perhaps alone able to effect it, are the least likely to make any such attempt. While their own minds are comparatively enlightened by a pure system of natural religion, and all those precepts of duty, which cultivated reason teaches; they "detain the truth in unrighteousness," and commit the people to be guided by the grosser systems of superstition and error.

"Those polemical disputes in religion and politics, which in Europe sometimes disturb society, but which always awaken curiosity, and invigorate the powers of intellect, are unheard of in India. The Hindoo shelters himself from such turmoils in a total apathy, or listlessness of thought, more resembling the stillness of the grave, or annihilation itself, than the common efforts of a rational being.

"The description Dr. Robertson has given of the early progress made by the Hindoos is extremely accurate and guarded in its assertions: if applied to the higher orders of the brahmins, or the princes of Hindostan, it is strictly just; but nothing can be more erroneous than its application to the bulk of the people, whom the foregoing strictures are meant to describe. The sciences of India, and all the more liberal arts, are at present, and always have been, confined to the great and learned alone. The moral and theological knowledge possessed by a few in the higher ranks, for many ages, is as completely beyond the reach of the common people as if it did not exist. Of consequence it must prove of little service in promoting their interests. The same thing may be affirmed of every branch of knowledge. The portion possessed by nineteen in twenty of the whole community, is comparatively nothing. To the power of habit, and the influence of custom alone, they are consigned for the direction of themselves. Reason, inert and feeble as in them it must prove, has little share in what we justly regard as its peculiar province. In such circumstances certainly no people can be more entitled to indulgence towards their weakness and errors; and there is certainly none who have stronger claims upon our sympathy and tenderness. Britons now occupy the places of their native princes; and the blessings of protection, instruction, and encouragement in virtue, which there are too frequently withheld, Providence has bestowed upon us as a sacred duty to bestow."

These appear strong and conclusive arguments; they oppose a weighty testimony to that assertion, that " on the enlarged principles of moral reasoning, the Hindoo code little needs the melio-

rating hand of christian dispensations." Can the conversion of the Hindoos, on a mild, liberal, and benevolent plan, be called misguided zeal; a zeal without prudence and without knowledge? By a real christian it surely cannot be deemed a thing indifferent, whether they are to be taught the truths of the gospel; whether they shall be transferred from darkness to light; and from the worship of idols to the adoration of the living God! Notwithstanding all that has been alleged in the controversy respecting the conversion of our Indian subjects, this is an hypothesis that will not be generally admitted. It must be obvious that in the code of Menu are many dreadful desiderata; millions are excluded by it from the knowledge of the Hindoo religion; a religion, indeed, upon so unjust a foundation, that a brahmin may commit the most heinous crimes with comparative impunity; while the poor chandalah, who leads a virtuous life, is prohibited from the common right of humanity. Does the latter make no *silent appeal* to the *feeling hearts* of British legislators? When the Hindoo law-giver (so far from offering him the benefits of religion) does not even permit him to tread the outer courts of the temple, does it not still more behove an enlightened government to tender him the comforts of the gospel, and an equitable share in the common rights of man? It is not the mysteries of Christianity on which a stress is now laid; it is on the divine consolations afforded by that blessed revelation, and the practice of the moral duties which it inculcates. From this practice, from these enjoyments, the lower classes of Hindoos are more or less excluded. The Christian's Bible is not " an exercise of ingenuity, but of obedience. Our great duties are written with a sun-beam; to believe what is

true, to love what is amiable, to do what is right, and to suffer what is appointed. We bring into the world tempers and dispositions which are strong obstacles to these attainments. To surmount these obstacles is the life of a christian; for this we were brought into being: as we pursue or neglect this, we shall answer or defeat the end for which we were born."—Hannah More.

On leaving the Brodera purgunna, we entered a small territory belonging to the Meah-Gaum rajah, named Ramul Sihng. This Hindoo chieftain, more than any I ever saw in India, reminded me of the ancient patriarchs; and his domestic arrangements nearly resembled those of my venerable Mahomedan host at Ram-Rajah. Like him, this respectable Hindoo lived under the same roof with twelve of his sons, their wives and children. Some others were engaged in the service of foreign princes, some had fallen in battle, and several daughters were married among their own caste, in different parts of Guzerat. Ramul Sihng was highly esteemed in that province: although not abounding in wealth, or possessing a large revenue, he was kind and hospitable to strangers; gave them the milk and honey of his land; and, though forbidden by religious tenets to kill the fatted calf, the firstlings of his flock, the milk of his kine, and the fruits of his garden were always sent to travellers who visited his little capital. It was a delightful visit to his humble durbar; where, surrounded by his children in many generations, he prayed for blessings on their heads, and embraced them with paternal affection. Ramul Sihng did not vie with the prince of Uz, in the number of his camels, sheep, and oxen; but he was equally happy in a numerous family, and en-

joyed their society in the same manner. I frequently quote the sacred historians, not only for their intrinsic truth and beauty, but because they illustrate oriental manners and customs more happily than any other book I am acquainted with. In the parallel between the ancient patriarch and the Meah rajah, there was a striking coincidence of circumstances and character. I heard the subjects in his little principality speak of their parental chief as did the inhabitants of Uz, in days of yore; and in the very words they used, which I noted down at the time. "When the ear heard him, then it blessed him; and when the eye saw him it gave witness to him; because he delivered the poor, and the fatherless, and him that had none to help him. The blessing of him that was ready to perish came upon him; and he caused the widow's heart to sing for joy!"

The rajah of Meah Gaum was indeed an amiable exception to the Indian portraits lately introduced. With equal pleasure I now bring forward two others, in the characters of Hiroo Nand, and his amiable wife, then lately deceased, and burnt at Brodera. Hiroo Nand was duan to Futty Sihng; who, however deficient in princely virtues himself, knew how to value them in a faithful servant. His superior abilities and unshaken integrity gained him the esteem of his prince; he was equally beloved by his subjects for his justice, moderation, and clemency in collecting the revenues of the Guickwar, which annually amounted to sixty lacs of rupees. Thus respected by all ranks, his happiness was complete, from having married a young lady of family, in every respect worthy of such a husband. When his presence was required in distant provinces, to her he intrusted all his concerns in Brodera; she not

only transacted business, audited accounts, carried on his correspondence and received his own officers, but gave audience to foreign deputations. This is the more extraordinary, as a very few Hindoo women can either write or read.

A short time previous to our visiting Brodera, Hiroo was seized with a dangerous fever at Neriad. The brahmin physicians giving very little hope of recovery, he sent for his wife, who arrived in time to administer the last consolations to her expiring husband. She accompanied his corpse to Brodera, where the funeral pile was to be erected, with a fixed resolve not to survive him. On hearing of the duan's illness, Futty Sihng sent to assure his wife of his favour and protection; and in case of his decease promised the regard due to a faithful minister should be transferred to his widow and children. Her husband amply provided for her by will, and, contrary to the laws of dowry, and general customs of the Hindoos, he made her totally independent of his family. All were of no avail, she persisted in her determination to attend him to a better world, and suffered not the tears nor supplications of an aged mother and three helpless infants to change her purpose.

The funeral pyre was erected on the banks of the river Biswamintree, without the gates of Brodera. An immense concourse of all ranks assembled at the cremation; a band of music accompanied the brahmins who superintended the ceremony. The bower of death, enwreathed with sacred flowers, was erected over the pile of sandal-wood and spices, on which lay the body of the deceased. After various ceremonies, the music ceased, and the crowd in solemn silence waited the arrival of the heroine! She approached from a temporary retirement with the brahmins, at-

tended by her mother, and three lovely children, arrayed in rich attire, and wearing the hymeneal crown, an ornament peculiar to a Hindoo bride at her marriage. On reaching the pyre she made a salam to the surrounding spectators, and a low obeisance to her husband's body. After a few religious ceremonies, the attendants took off her jewels, anointed her dishevelled hair with consecrated ghee, as also the skirts of her flowing robe of yellow muslin (the colour of nuptial bliss). Two lisping infants clung round her knees, to dissuade her from the fatal purpose; the last pledge of conjugal love was taken from her bosom by an aged parent, in speechless agony. Freed from these heart-piercing mourners, the lovely widow, with an air of solemn majesty, received a lighted torch from the brahmins, with which she walked seven times round the pyre. Stopping near the entrance of the bower, for the last time she addressed the fire, and worshipped the other deities, as prescribed in the Sutty-ved: then setting fire to her hair, and the skirts of her robe, to render herself the only brand worthy of illuminating the sacred pile, she threw away the torch, rushed into the bower, and embracing her husband, thus communicated the flames to the surrounding branches. The musicians immediately struck up the loudest strains, to drown the cries of the victim, should her courage have forsaken her. But several spectators then present, assured me the serenity of her countenance, and dignity of her behaviour, surpassed all the sacrifices of a similar nature they had ever witnessed. I was invited to this cremation, which took place within twelve miles of my residence, and am now sorry I did not attend so extraordinary an immolation.

The widow of Hiroo walked seven times round the funeral

pile; some Hindoo females only encompass it thrice; and there may be other exceptions. But in ancient and modern history we find the numbers seven and three generally considered to be sacred; the former number is most common in scripture; among the Greeks and Romans the latter prevails, especially at funerals.

Οἱ δε τρὶς περὶ νεκρὸν εὔτριχας ἤλασαν ἵππυς
Μυρόμενοι. HOMER.

"They drive their horses thrice about the dead
"Lamenting."

Ter circum accensos cincti fulgentibus armis
Decurrere rogos, ter mœstum funeris ignem
Lustravere in equis, ululatusque ore dedere. VIRG.

Well-arm'd, thrice round the pile they march'd on foot,
Thrice round it rode, and with a dismal shout
Survey'd the rolling flames.

The character and conduct of the young Hindoo widow excites our admiration and claims our pity; for although we may admire the heroism, we must pity a female, biassed by a wrong education, and influenced by a false religion, to make this dreadful sacrifice. Christianity would have regulated her affections, have taught her the delights of resignation, the necessity of fulfilling her relative duties to society, and especially those implanted in the maternal bosom. We gaze for a moment on the Asiatic meteor; admiration and esteem accompany our judgment in contemplating the fortitude and active virtues of Lady Russell, Madame de Sevigné, the late Marchioness of Tavistock, and other eminent females in Europe.

"Woman, the sweet enchantress! given to cheer
The fitful struggles of our passage here;
In pity to our sorows, sent to show
The earlier joys of Paradise below;
With matron love, and matron duty, pour
Her gentle influence on our evening hour,
When the world-wearied spirit longs to rest
Its throbbing temples on her sheltering breast.
Woman, whose tear, whose glance, whose touch, whose sigh,
Can wrap us in despair, or ecstasy!
With untold hope, and passion's nameless thrill,
Refine our raptures, bid our cares be still;
With Love's sweet arts, the gloom of Woe dispel,
Bid in our breast returning transport swell;
Cling round our soul, the rising fiend destroy,
And lead to Virtue, by the path of Joy." Anon.

The Indian women, especially the high castes of Hindoos, have their peculiar virtues; delicate, retired, and feminine. On the present journey, not only in the English districts, but those belonging to other governments, the women drew water at the public wells for ourselves, our servants, and cattle, while others presented us with butter, milk, vegetables, fruit, and flowers. However shy they may be reckoned in their general deportment to strangers, in my purgunnas I have often known them to exceed these stated duties of hospitality; and have seen a woman of no mean rank, literally illustrate the conduct of an unfortunate princess in the Jewish history; where, "Tamar took flour and kneaded it, and made cakes in her brother Amnon's house; and did bake the cakes, and took a pan, and poured them out before him. And her brother said unto her, bring the meat that I may eat of thine hand: and Tamar

took the cakes which she had made, and brought them to Amnon her brother."

Such was the simplicity of royalty in former ages; such the domestic conduct in a princess of the house of David. Homer introduces a lady of equal rank, engaged in an occupation which in Europe would be thought very degrading; but is not beneath the dignity of the brahmin female at this day.

> "When lo! they met, beside a crystal spring,
> "The daughter of Antiphates, the king:
> "She to Artacia's silver streams came down,
> "Artacia's streams alone supply the town;
> "The damsel they approach." ODYSSEY.

However decidedly some travellers may write on the Asiatic women, it is difficult to form a correct portrait of the high Mogul or Hindoo female character; especially among the former. I have known English physicians sent for to the durbar at Cambay, and the palaces of other Mahomedans. The princes openly consulted them on their real and imaginary complaints; they generally entertain a high opinion of their medical skill, are fond of conversing upon the subject, and enumerating their disorders. Their attendance was not confined to the male sex; the ladies generally requested a visit (for an interview it cannot be called) in the haram; whither the physician was conducted by eunuchs and duennas, and attended a patient for many days, without ever seeing her. On entering the ladies' apartments, he was led into a saloon, separated from the interior chambers by a thick curtain, falling from the ceiling to the floor, the whole breadth of the

room; this curtain has a small aperture in the centre, like those in front of a theatre, through which the patient puts her arm, that the physician might feel the pulse, and form some sort of conclusion for a prescription: but he was not permitted any further intercourse with these secluded ladies.

In describing the Indian Mahomedans on another occasion, I gave the sentiments of a very intelligent writer on those in the Nizam's country: what he says on the female character in that class of oriental society, is too pertinent to be omitted. "In retracing the various subjects of a cursory sketch of Mahomedan manners, there is one circumstance likely to strike the curious reader, namely, that refinement of manners should be found among a people whose customs entirely preclude women from any participation in society. As a popular opinion has long prevailed in Europe that mankind are chiefly indebted for the improvement of ferocious and uncouth manners to the endearing society of the more amiable sex, as well as to the refinement arising from the introduction of chivalry; yet, in contradiction to this supposition, we learn from history that the institutions of chivalry are unknown in India, or in the countries from whence the Mahomedan conquerors of India originated. We also know from the same source, that the exclusion of women from the mixed society of men, obtained more or less in Asia prior to the introduction of the Mahomedan religion. Indeed, though the Mahomedan doctrine has been supposed extremely adverse to the fair sex by Europeans, it will be found that the women of Arabia are peculiarly indebted to the precepts of the Koran for the abolition of a horrid custom, then prevalent among the Arabs, of frequently

condemning to death their female offspring, as useless for the purposes of war. And here it may not be extraneous to make some mention of a religion whose dictates have caused so extraordinary a separation in society between the two sexes; an institution the more singular, as arising from the lucubrations of a man whose devotion to the sex placed the eternal happiness of the Faithful in the perpetual enjoyment of bliss in the arms of celestial beauties; who, like their mortal sisters, are equally condemned to retirement in the next world; where Mahomed represents the charming black-eyed girls of Paradise to be created of pure musk, and possessing the most rigid sentiments of modesty, as secluded from the rest of the heavenly host in sacred groves, or enshrined in pavilions of hollow pearl of vast extent. Though this indeed particularly alludes to the *Hur Al Ayun*, or Houree, an immortal race created for the solace of true believers; yet to prove, with many other passages of the Koran, that women have not been banished these celestial abodes, the Faithful are permitted to send for their former loves; who, clothed in robes of heavenly texture, and crowned with resplendent pearls, will wander in the fragrant bowers of Paradise, enjoying the unfading bloom of eternal youth. But, to descend from the extatic raptures of the amorous prophet to his earthly institutions, we may, in the Mahomedan mode of life, partly trace the views of its ambitious founder. Designing his disciples for the founders of a new and splendid empire, he wished the whole energy of the human soul to be collected in that one great design; and that, inspired with enthusiasm, his followers might, without interruption, pursue a steady course in the arduous and dangerous paths of politics and war. Yet the strong impulse of nature warned the

Prophet, like a secret monitor, that intellectual food alone was insufficient for beings compounded of soul and body. Convinced of this, he only followed, without knowing it, the example of Zeno, Epicurus, and Aristotle, by adapting his system and religion to his own temperament and inclinations. Love and dominion were the passions of the Prophet, so he determined they should go hand in hand; and resolved that the diet and beverage of his disciples should neither impair the vigour of the body nor the faculties of the mind. But, as the frailty of human nature had ordained repose both to the statesman and hero, he contrived that the allurements of pleasure should not interrupt the hours of business, and that women should be the solace of mankind only in the hours of retirement and relaxation, without superadding to the toils of public life the anxiety and perturbation of the absent lover. For, however dull and inanimate society may appear to the votaries of pleasure, deprived of this genial source of all our delights, yet the philosopher and statesman, viewing pleasure as a secondary motive, may think the exclusion of women an advantage to the cold system of wisdom and policy, *Nam fuit ante Helenam belli teterrima causa amor;* which the subsequent ages of the world have, and do confirm."

From Brodera and Meah Gaum, we travelled westward, through the Jamboseer and Ahmood purgunnas: having already described those districts and their respective capitals, I shall not resume the subject. Almost every part of the Brodera purgunna evinced its former beauty, in topes of mango and tamarind trees, tastefully planted near mosques, mausoleums, and other remains of Mogul splendor, now in a state of dilapidation. The abundance of

game in this country, and especially of wild peacocks in the woodlands, is astonishing: every village seems to have an appropriate share of these birds in the surrounding groves. There, as in the Dhuboy districts, peacocks and monkeys are protected, and allowed an ample share of grain in the cullies, or farm-yards. The pea-fowl in other parts of the country, secluded from the haunts of men, subsist, no doubt, upon wild fruits, insects, and reptiles, which every where abound, especially of the coluber tribe; for although, like the rest of the species, the pea-fowl of Guzerat are granivorous, they are also very fond of serpents, and devour them whenever they have an opportunity. The natives are still more obliged to the sahras, stork, crane, and many other graminivorous and aquatic birds, for the destruction of those enemies, which they swallow with great avidity. And as the snake devours poultry and animals of various descriptions, ten times larger than itself, so the peacock contrives to swallow a serpent of almost incredible magnitude; even the cobra-di-capello, and others of a poisonous nature.

The cobra-di-capello, or coluber naja, is as common in Guzerat as in many parts of Hindostan. At Dhuboy they were of the largest size, and generally of a paler colour than those in the Concan, occasioned perhaps by the contrast: the hood of those in Guzerat appears more brilliant, and the black and white marks in the spectacles more distinct than in the darker kind at Bombay. The hood is dilatable to a great degree, at the pleasure of the animal. This faculty is occasioned by the length of the bony rays proceeding from the sides of the vertebræ in that part; and which, assisted by proper muscles, enable the snake to extend the skin of the

neck to a large flattened surface or hood; generally spotted, like the rest of the body, with brown, except those black and white marks, resembling a pair of spectacles in shape, which has obtained it the name of the spectacle-snake.

Like most other serpents, the cobra-di-capello has the power of fascinating small birds; who either hover over it, until they actually drop into its mouth, or lose the power of motion to escape from their insidious enemy. I have frequently found very large skins of these serpents, perfect, and of great beauty, in caverns and thick bushes, in different parts of India; particularly in the caves of Salsette and Elephanta, where they are very abundant.

In Mr. Boag's account of the serpents at Bombay, it appears that Gmelin's Systema Naturæ describes two hundred and nineteen different kinds of snakes, of which, according to Linnæus, only one in ten are poisonous; and that many of these are not poisonous to man, though they may be destructive to lesser animals. "The most certain indication to be depended on, is the large canine teeth or fangs fixed in the upper jaw, which are commonly two in number, but sometimes more. These teeth are covered with a membranous sheath, and are crooked, moveable, and hollow, to give passage to the venom, which they receive from a small reservoir that runs along the palate of the mouth, and passes through the body of each fang. This reservoir contains only a small quantity of venom, which is forced out of it when the animal attempts to bite by a strong muscle fixed in the upper jaw for that purpose. It has been well observed by Linnæus, that if nature has thrown them naked on the ground, destitute of limbs,

and exposed to every misery, she has in return supplied them with a deadly poison, the most terrible of all weapons!

"On procuring a large cobra-di-capello with the venomous teeth and poison-bag entire, it was made to bite a young dog in the hind leg, for which no medicine was made use of. The dog upon being bit howled violently for a few minutes; the wounded limb soon became paralytic; in ten minutes the dog lay senseless and convulsed; in thirteen minutes he was dead. A dog of a smaller size, and younger, was bitten in the hind leg, when he was instantly plunged into a warm nitre bath prepared on purpose. The wound was scarified, and washed with the solution of lunar caustic, while some of it was poured down his throat. The dog died in the same time, and with the same symptoms as the former. After an interval of one day, the same snake was made to bite a young puppy in the hind leg; but above the part bitten a ligature was previously tied: the wound was scarified and treated as the other. This dog did not seem to feel any other injury than that arising from the ligature round his leg. Half an hour after being bitten the ligature and dressing were removed: the dog soon began to sink, breathed quick, grew convulsed, and died.

"The symptoms which arise from the bite of a serpent, are commonly pain, swelling, and redness in the part bitten; great faintness, with sickness at the stomach, and sometimes vomiting, succeed: the breathing becomes short and laborious, the pulse low, quick, and interrupted. The wound, which was at first red, becomes livid, black, and gangrenous; the skin of the wounded limb, and sometimes of the whole body, takes a yellow hue; cold

sweats and convulsions come on; and the patient sinks, sometimes in a few hours, but commonly at the end of two, three, or four days. This is the usual progress when the disease terminates fatally; but happily the patient will most commonly recover. A reflection which should moderate the fears of those who happen to be bitten by snakes; and which, at any rate, should, as much as possible, be resisted; as the depressing passion of fear will in all cases assist the operation of the poison."

Fear doubtlessly operates powerfully on men and animals at the sight of these venomous serpents, especially those of superior magnitude. Many of the Hindoos, discarding fear, seem to behold them with veneration and love. They are, as already mentioned, the protectors of their treasure, the object of adoration in their temples, and most probably the receptacle of some favoured souls in the metempsychosis. With them, as among the ancients, the serpent is, in a high degree, figurative and symbolical. Its many singular properties render it peculiarly interesting; none more wonderful than its power of charming the unwary birds (as instanced in the cobra-di-capello), by fixing its brilliant eyes on the intended prey, until the terrified flutterer actually runs into its open mouth.

Paley, in his Natural Theology, marking the attention of the Creator to the three great kingdoms in the animal creation, quadrupeds, birds, and fishes, and to their constitution as such, introduces the fang of a poisonous serpent as a clear and curious example of mechanical contrivance in the great Author of nature. It is a perforated tooth, loose at the root; in its quiet state lying down flat upon the jaw, but furnished with a muscle, which, with a jerk, and by the pluck, as it were, of a string, suddenly erects it. Under

the tooth, close to its root, and communicating with the perforation, lies a small bag, containing the venom. When the fang is raised the closing of the jaw presses its root against the bag underneath; and the force of this compression sends out the fluid with a considerable impetus through the tube in the middle of the tooth. What more unequivocal, or effectual apparatus could be devised for the double purpose of at once inflicting the wound, and injecting the poison? Yet, though lodged in the mouth, it is so constituted, as, in its inoffensive and quiescent state, not to interfere with the animal's ordinary office of receiving its food. It has been observed also, that none of the harmless serpents have these fangs, but teeth of an equal size; not moveable, as this is, but fixed into the jaw.

I believe very few of the water-snakes have these fangs, or are in any degree venomous. In this family is a great variety; some very large, especially those in soundings on the Malabar coast. Many in the Guzerat lakes are of beautiful colours; and their predatory pursuits are extremely curious. They watch the frogs, lizards, young ducks, water rats, and other animals, when reposing on the leaves of the lotus, or sporting on the margin of a lake, and at a favourable opportunity seize their prey, and swallow it whole, though often of a circumference much larger than themselves. These, in their turn, become food to the larger aquatic fowl, which frequent the lakes; who also swallow them, and their contents, entire: thus it sometimes happens that a large duck not only gulps down the living serpent, but one of its own brood still existing in its maw. Standing with some friends on the side of a tank, watching the manœuvres of these animals, we saw a Muscovy

drake swallow a large snake, which had just before gorged itself with a living prey. The drake came on shore to exercise himself in getting down the snake, which continued for some hours working within the bird's craw; who seemed rather uneasy at its troublesome guest. It is therefore most probable there were three different creatures alive at the same time in this singular connection. The serpent swallows small animals alive without much suction or bruising, and a living frog is frequently found within the snake's stomach. How long the frog continues alive within the serpent, and the serpent within the bird, I cannot say, as the digestive faculties of the stomach may vary in different animals. The ostrich swallows stones, iron, and similar substances; the shark voraciously devours carpenters' tools, pieces of wood, clasp-knives, and thick ropes, that fall from the ship; the peacocks and aquatic fowl of Guzerat prey upon living serpents, and small reptiles of every description. I mentioned this propensity in the falco serpentarius, or secretary-bird, in the menagerie at the Cape of Good Hope. Barrow relates a very curious circumstance respecting living serpents in the stomach of one of these birds after its death, which puts the matter beyond all doubt. "An English gentleman, who held an official situation at the Cape of Good Hope, being out on a shooting party, killed a secretary-bird, which he carried home with the intention of having an accurate drawing made from it. He threw it on the floor of the balcony near the house; where, after it had remained some time, and been examined and tossed about, one of the company observed the head of a large snake pushing open the bill; out of which it speedily crawled, in perfect vigour, and free from any injury. On the suppo-

sition that others might still be in the stomach, the bird was suspended by the legs, and presently a second made its appearance, as large and as lively as the first The bird was afterwards opened, when the stomach was found to contain several dead snakes, with a half-digested mass of lizards, scorpions, scolopendræ, centipedes, and beetles."

The little district belonging to the Meah Gaum Rajah afforded neither novelty nor interest; but on entering the Jamboseer purgunna, which had then been several years in the company's possession, we observed a visible alteration in the agriculture, population, and cheerfulness of the villages: for fertile, beautiful, and abundant, as are so many parts of the Brodera pergunna, yet numerous villages are depopulated, and the surrounding country a desert, from the oppressive government of Futty Sihng, and the cruel irruptions of the Bheels and Gracias. In one considerable tract near the confines of the Brodera district we witnessed a mournful scene, occasioned by a different scourge: a flight of locusts had some time before alighted in that part of the country, and left behind them an awful and striking contrast to the general beauty of this earthly paradise. The sad description of Hosea was literally realized. "That which the palmer-worm hath left, hath the locust eaten; and that which the locust hath left, hath the canker-worm eaten; and that which the canker-worm hath left, hath the caterpillar eaten. They have laid waste the vine, and barked the fig-tree; they have made it clean bare, and the branches thereof are made white: the pomegranate tree, the palm tree also, and the apple tree, even all the trees of the field are withered. Howl, O ye husbandmen! for the wheat and for the barley; because the

harvest of the field is perished. How do the beasts groan! the herds of cattle are perplexed, because they have no pasture; yea, the flocks of sheep are made desolate!"

I am no judge of this distinction in the caterpillar tribe; neither can I discriminate the different companies in a host of locusts: all are destructive, and equally dreaded by the peasants. In the forest scenery on this excursion, we saw many beautiful varieties in the mantis, cicada, and papilio tribes; especially among those curious, but ravenous insects, called the creeping-leaf. The tough sugar-canes, luxuriant juarree, and strongest oil-plants, had fallen a sacrifice to the host of locusts, in the Brodera purgunna: even the large mowah trees did not escape their ravage. The madhuca, or mowah tree, abounds in this part of Guzerat, and a great quantity of mowah-arrack is distilled in the Brodera villages. This pernicious distillery is encouraged by the Indian princes on account of the revenue; although, like a similar mischief in a more civilized country, the deleterious effects of this intoxicating spirit are too visible among the lower classes of society. In Brodera they also distil a strong spirit from the sugar cane, and the molasses, or jaggaree, it produces.

Sugar, and spirits distilled from sugar, have been known in India from time immemorial. Sir William Jones proves the Institutes of Menu to have been promulgated at least twelve hundred years before the Christian æra. Those laws particularly prohibit spirits to the Brahmins; whether extracted from the dregs of sugar, from rice, or from the flowers of the madhuca.

In most of the Guzerat villages, and in every part of India where I travelled, are usually one or more potters, who manufacture

pots, dishes, and other utensils, from the argillaceous earth: these are turned by the wheel, with the usual simplicity of oriental artificers. Some of the superior workmen manufacture idols, in the Hindoo mythology, of clay, baked and painted, in imitation of those formed of prepared rice, alabaster, and different metals, which were annually imported to a considerable amount at the Baroche Phoorza, when I was custom-master at that settlement; and transported from thence into the interior of Guzerat and Malwa. At the Baroche Phoorza I frequently purchased specimens of Ganesa, and other Hindoo deities, on a small scale, both in rice and alabaster: and the Brahmins at Dhuboy liberally and kindly superintended the silver-smith, who made me a set of images, cast in tuthenaque, or chinese white copper, with the ornaments and utensils of the temple, in gold and silver, of a reduced size. A particular part of the bed of the Nerbudda, not far from Chandode, as also some places at a greater distance in that river, were famous for producing stones exactly resembling the idol appropriated for the worship of Seva. They are formed into this shape by the action of the water, and on that account are deemed particularly holy by the brahmins in the sect of Seva.

The general velocity of the Nerbudda, where the stream is confined to a narrow channel, occasions the friction of the stones to produce a great variety of forms, consequently some of the shape alluded to. Those are all produced in the upper parts of the river, for its bed, in the Baroche and Zinore districts, is entirely of mud, clay, or sand; not the smallest pebble is to be met with. Like most rivers in Hindostan, the Nerbudda overflows its banks in the rainy season, when its limits are confined; a number of large

trees and animals are then brought down by the floods from the mountains: some of the former different from those in the plains of Guzerat. The Nerbudda seldom occasions mischief; the overflowing streams of the Dahder, and some of the smaller rivers, frequently produce dreadful calamities within a few miles of their fertile banks. These floods seem to be very little influenced by the rain which falls on the plains, they are always occasioned by mountain torrents. There certainly is not so great a fall of rain during the wet season in Guzerat as on the island of Bombay, and the southern parts of the Malabar coast; where the periodical rains generally commence and terminate at the same period, as we experienced at Surat and Baroche. The setting in of the rain, with the south-west monsoon, usually takes place before the middle of June, and continues, with more or less violence, and unequal falls of rain, for about four months: the largest quantity always falls in July. From a calculation made and published, it appears that on the island of Bombay, for eight successive years, from 1780, the general average of rain in July, was twenty-two inches, and the most that fell in any one day was six inches. The quantity of rain which fell in each of those years at Bombay, being thus ascertained, may serve as an estimate for ten degrees of latitude, from 10° to 20° on the west side of the Gaut mountains.

			Inches.
From July 4th, to October 14th,	1780	. . .	53 4
From June 14th, to October 14th,	1781	. . .	71 5
From May 28th, to October 5th,	1782	. . .	51 8
From June 1st, to October 4th,	1783	. . .	73
From June 6th, to October 6th,	1784	. . .	47 5
From May 29th, to October 27th,	1785	. . .	70 2
From June 12th, to October 12th,	1786	. . .	74
From June 11th, to October 12th,	1787	. . .	70 4
		General average	63 96

J. Forbes 1811

A view of Cubbeer Burr, the celebrated Banian Tree, on an island in the Nerbudda, drawn from Nature 1778.

Printed from Stone by D. Redman

J. Forbes 1811

Ramification of a Banian Tree drawn from Nature 1778

Printed from stone by D Redman

Engraved by J. Shury.

BRIDGE over the River BISWAMINTREE, near BRODERA.

Jam. Forbes, 1783.

Published by White, Cochrane & Co. Fleet Street. June 1st 1812.

Red, Blue, and White LOTUS, *of Hindostan.*

W. Hooker fecit. Jam. Forbes, Chandode. 1781.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

PRESENTATION OF BAROCHE AND ITS VALUABLE
DISTRICTS TO MHADAJEE SINDIA;
CESSION OF DHUBOY, AND THE OTHER ENGLISH PURGUNNAS
IN GUZERAT TO THE MAHRATTA GOVERNMENT;
AND FINAL DEPARTURE OF THE COMPANY'S
SERVANTS AND GARRISONS FROM
THOSE ESTABLISHMENTS.
1783.

" O Liberty! thou goddess, heavenly bright,
" Profuse of bliss, and pregnant with delight;
" Eternal pleasures in thy presence reign,
" And smiling Plenty leads thy wanton train;
" Eas'd of her load Subjection grows more light,
" And Poverty looks cheerful in thy sight;
" Thou mak'st the gloomy face of Nature gay,
" Giv'st beauty to the sun, and pleasure to the day!
" 'Tis Liberty that crowns Britannia's isle,
" And makes her barren rocks, and her bleak mountains smile." Addison.

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being withdrawn—reasons for inserting it—translation of the address—divination of the Gracia soothsayers—arrangements in consequence—departure from Dhuboy—lines written on the occasion—proceed to Baroche—attack of the Gracias on my escort—murder of the cavalry officer, servant, and attendants—further cruelty and plunder—funeral processions—my narrow escape from the ambuscade—conduct of the relations of the murdered people—general behaviour of the Mahomedan women on such occasions—intentions of the Gracias, had they succeeded in my capture—various modes of poisoning their prisoners—effects of deleterious drugs on the body and the mind—poisons among the ancients—recovery of part of my effects—sheep-skin death—anecdote in consequence—death by thirst—another scheme of the Gracias frustrated—oriental sorceries—remarks on a particular Providence.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

I now enter upon the painful subject of my last letter from India; it was written from Bombay at the end of the year 1783, when I had taken a final leave of Baroche, Dhuboy, and all the interesting scenes in Guzerat. They then no longer belonged to the English; the British flag, the security of liberty and property in that delightful province, no more waved on her ramparts, and the peasants on her luxuriant plains were abandoned to Mahratta despotism. Ill-fated people, who only experienced the mildness of our laws, and tasted the sweets of freedom, to find the cup of slavery more bitter!

I shall not discuss the oriental politics at that period. The East India Company had been engaged for several years in an expensive war with the Mahrattas and Hyder Ally Khan, the two most formidable powers in Hindostan. In the beginning of 1783 the Supreme government of Bengal concluded a peace with the peshwa of the Mahrattas, through the mediation of Mhadajee Sindia, one of the great sirdars, or chieftains, of the empire; a man whose rise in life was so extraordinary as to merit a particular recital.

When Bajee-Row became peshwa, as particularly mentioned

in the account of the Mahrattas, he employed his younger brother, Chimnajee Appa, in affairs of the greatest importance, for the Rajah Saou Bhousela, the nominal sovereign of the Mahrattas: armies were intrusted to his command; and the country of the Concan, with all the castles below the Gauts, which, under the Mogul emperors, had been governed by the Abyssinian Yacoot Khan, was submitted to his direction: while vested with this authority he conquered Bassein from the Portugueze.

Chimnajee, at his death, left one son, named Sudasew Row, who afterwards became better known by the appellation of Bhaoù. Bajee-Row also dying, his son Ballejee-Row, generally called Nanna, succeeded his father in the full possession of all his ministerial powers, as peshwa, while his cousin Bhaoù remained in obscurity. Ramchunder Baba, a brahmin of great abilities, who had been closely connected with Chimnajee, saw and lamented the fortune of his son. Influenced by his feelings, he waited on the Rajah Saou Bhonsela, and by his representations to that prince, procured a mandate, ordaining that Nana should have the supreme direction of his affairs, in the manner of his father Badjee Row, and that Bhaòu should enjoy powers under him, similar to those of Chimnajee: conformable to this resolution, the rajah confirmed his appointment of the two cousins by a *sirpaw* to each; from which time Nana was considered as head *purdhan*, and Bhaòu as *dewan*.

After this event a long interval elapsed, in which, though Nana behaved with the greatest circumspection and civility to his new associate, yet Ramchunder, who had been the cause of Bhàou's elevation, saw and dreaded latent jealousy: to evade the

consequences of which, he constantly insisted with Bhàou on the necessity of forming a new and powerful interest in the army, by the promotion of new men to command, whose hopes and prospects must rest on him alone; since no reliance could be placed on chieftains grown old in authority, and haughty from a habit of commanding. Bhàou felt the force of his friend's reasoning, and in the prosecution of his plan selected Malhar Row Holcar, a silledar, or soldier of fortune; who, with a high reputation, possessed besides only his horse and sword, and with him Ranojee Sindia, who commanded a few horse. They were both esteemed excellent soldiers, and had been occasionally intrusted with small commands during the administration of the late peshwa, Badjee-Row. Mutual agreements were entered into; Bhàou engaged on all occasions to procure for them an additional extent of territorial government, and to increase their forces, while they pledged themselves to support his influence, as the origin of their good fortune.

Great part of the extensive province of Malwa was shortly after allotted to them in Jaghire; while some districts of inferior value were conferred on Powar, a very respectable chieftain amongst the Mahrattas. No opportunity was lost of adding to the power of Bhaòu's new friends; and Bhilseh, with the other territories of the Mogul, which, by the death of Dost Mahommed Khan, and Yas Mahommed, fell into the hands of the Mahrattas, were added to their government.

After a long time spent in this manner, Ranojee Sindia died, and was succeeded in his Jaghire by his son Jeajee Appa, who had two brothers, one named Dutajee Patell, the other Tucojee:

the former was admitted by Jeajee to a participation of power; but Tucojee dying, left a son named Kedrajee. Ranojee Sindia had also a son by a *butkee*, or bond-woman, whose name was Mahdarao, but who has since become better known by that of *Mhadajee Sindia.* As among the Hindoos the offspring of a bond-woman is not held in equal esteem, nor admitted to inheritance with the legitimate children, so was this young man excluded from all share in his father's estate: insomuch that he was driven to the necessity of serving in the armies of Bhaôu, his father's patron, as a *yeké souar roo shinas*, which signifies a cavalier admitted to the acquaintance of the chief.

When *Mharajah Buckt Sihng*, rajah of Marwar, died, his nephew, *Ram Sihng*, son of *Rarah Abhé Sihng*, his elder brother, who during the life of his uncle had not entirely concealed his pretensions, openly aspired to the rajahship, and raised an army to support his claims against his cousin, *Bejee Sihng*, the son and successor of the late rajah. Hostilities between these competitors had subsisted for two years with great animosity, when *Jeajee Appa*, on his return from Shah-Jehanabad towards Malwa, passed near Marwar, and gave *Ram Sihng* an opportunity of procuring a meeting; in which, notwithstanding the large offers of Bejee Sihng, he solicited and obtained Jeajee's assistance; who upbraided Bejee Sihng with his father having deprived his elder brother's son of his inheritance; since, according to the custom of the Hindoos, an hereditary government devolved in course to the eldest branch.

Thus reinforced, *Ram Sihng* renewed the contest with vigour; the whole open country was reduced to his authority, and all ap-

pointments were established in his name; while *Bejee Sihng*, confined to the strong hold of *Merut*, was so straitened for provisions, that a pound of salt was not procurable for one rupee, notwithstanding which, he refused all terms of accommodation offered by *Jeajee;* who proposed an equal division of the country between him and his cousin, and on receiving an acknowledgement for the expenses of his own troops, to desist from all hostilities. *Bejee Sihng's* answer was constantly and uniformly this, that he was a *rajpoot*, that he possessed no treasure but his sword; with which, while he lived, he would defend himself.

The war being thus protracted for three years, and Bejee Sihng perceiving no end to his distresses, had recourse to the services of a set of people called *Ghaouleh*, inhabitants of that country, who hold lands free of all tribute and taxation, on condition of devoting themselves to their sovereign's commands, when called upon to execute the most desperate acts; so that it is customary with them, when summoned to his presence, to bequeath their effects, and take a last farewell of their friends, as though they were never to return; and, under the influence of this extraordinary fanaticism, they seldom fail to effect the most hazardous enterprises.

Five of these *Ghaouleh* were dispatched to the camp of Jeajee; two, in the character of public envoys, had free access to the chieftain's tent; one personated a musician, and by his skill gained admission to an intimate knowledge of all the officers of the household; while the remaining two, in the disguise of byragees, a tribe of religious Hindoo mendicants, were diligently employed in pro-

curing intelligence, and watching a favourable opportunity to effect the purpose of their mission.

On a certain day, Jeajee having performed his ablutions, according to the Hindoo rites, was seated in his durbar, or audience-tent. Those ceremonies of access, so punctiliously observed by the Moguls, are very much neglected among the Mahrattas; strangers can easily introduce, and place themselves close to the chief, whose attendants are frequently at a distance. Thus it happened with the fictitious envoys, who seizing the opportunity of *Jeajee* being alone, entered the tent, and advancing near him, with the utmost humility entered into a detail of their master's distresses, endeavouring at the same time to soften *Jeajee's* enmity. He replied, that *Bajee Sihng* still proudly depended on his castles of Merut, Joodpore, and Nagore, all of which he would take from him, and then treat their master according to his deserts. One of the envoys, increasing his show of humility, advanced still nearer; when, suddenly seizing Jeajee by the neck, he drew his dagger, and giving him three mortal wounds, exclaimed at each blow, "this is Merut, this is Joodpore, this is Nagore!" Jeajee groaned and fell; the servants, alarmed, ran to the place; confusion ensued, many persons were slain. But it has never been ascertained whether the assassin was among the number, or whether he made his escape during the general consternation.

The noise occasioned by this extraordinary circumstance, brought *Dutajee*, *Jeajee's* brother, to the durbar-tent. Jeajee was still breathing; and with great difficulty was able to utter a few words, advising him immediately to provide against an attack

from *Bejee Sihng*, and exhorting his brother never to break the engagements he had made to support *Ram Sihng*, nor desist from his endeavours to bring his affairs to a happy termination, he expired.

Dutajee, renowned for courage, instantly gave orders for his cavalry to mount; and marching from his camp, he found Bejee Sihng advancing to take advantage of the confusion occasioned by his emissaries. A severe conflict ensued, in which the sword and spear were more used than artillery or small-arms: the rajpoots under Bejee Sihng behaved with the greatest courage, and made several desperate charges, so that many of the Mahrattas were inclined, according to their custom, to change the battle to a running fight, but were prevented by the firmness of their leader; whose fortune at length prevailed, and Bejee Sihng leaving the field, retreated slowly towards Merut. Dutajee pursued him to near the walls, without being able, notwithstanding his utmost efforts, to break their line of march, and throw the rajpoots into confusion.

Bejee Sihng having regained the fort, Dutajee returned to his encampment, and for a long time closely invested the place, desolating, by his predatory excursions and foraging parties, the whole country of Marwar. At length, on the intelligence of Ahmed Shah Abdallee having entered Hindostan, Dutajee was repeatedly summoned from Poonah, to join the Mahratta army collected to oppose him. Thus urged, he was under the necessity of proposing an accommodation between the cousins; which having effected, by securing certain districts for Ram Sihng, he marched towards Delhi. Bejee Sihng, taking advantage of his absence,

perfidiously broke the agreement he had entered into, and expelled his cousin from the districts assigned him.

Dutajee, after the assassination of his elder brother Jeajee, ordered his son Juncojee Sindia to be treated as his successor; while he took upon himself the management of his affairs, under the title of dewan; but being soon after killed in action against the Duranies, near Delhi, the whole weight of government devolved on Juncojee; who also was slain the following year, at the great battle of Panniput, fought by the Duranies, and several other Mahomedan tribes, under Ahmed Shah Abdallee, and the Mahrattas under Sudobah, or Bhaðu.

No legitimate descendant of Ranojee Sindia now remained, except Kedrajee, the son of Tucojee. At this time Mhadarow had succeeded his father Ballajee Row, in the office of peshwa, but his uncle Ragonath Row had so great weight and authority in the administration, as to give Mhadarow constant jealousy and anxiety.

On the death of Juncojee, Ragonath Row strenuously insisted on the succession of Kedrajee, in which the whole Sindia tribe agreed with him. But Mhadarow, suspicious of the designs of of his uncle, having heard of Mhadajee Sindia, sought after, and summoned him to his presence. Mhadajee was at that time lame, from a wound received in the battle of Panniput; poor, and little known. From this condition Mhadarow elevated him to the government and jaghire of his family. The shroffs and monied men, finding him patronized by the Mahratta sovereign, immediately advanced him money, to take possession of his new appointment with dignity and splendour.

Mhadarow had the same views in the nomination of Mhadajee Sindia, as Bhaôu had in the first elevation of the family, and he shortly after made use of him to thwart his uncle Ragonath Row in an expedition against Gohud; by whose means he was obliged to return unsuccessful and disgraced to the Deccan. Soon after this transaction, Mhadarow made it a plea for confining his uncle; and from thence forward the good fortune of Madajee Sindia advanced with such rapidity as to give him very considerable weight in the Mahratta empire; and the late cession of Baroche and its dependencies, added still more to his consequence.

So brilliant had the star of his destiny become in 1783, that he was selected to be the mediator of the treaty of peace between the English East India Company, and the Mahratta state. By this treaty, among the purgunnas in Guzerat ceded to the Mahrattas, were those of Dhuboy, Zinore, and the other districts under my jurisdiction; which I was directed to surrender on the 24th of April 1783, to such officer as might be deputed by the Mahratta state to receive them, agreeably to the terms of the treaty.

At the same time the Chief and Council of Baroche were ordered by the Governor and Council at Bombay to deliver up that important city and its valuable purgunna, to Bascar Row, agent for Mhadajee Sindia; to whom it had been presented by the governor General and Supreme Council of Bengal, "in testimony of the sense which they entertained of the generous conduct manifested by the said Mhadajee Sindia, to the government of Bombay, at Wargaum, in January 1779; and of his humane treatment and release of the English gentlemen, who had been deli-

vered as hostages on that occasion." Those were the reasons assigned by the Bengal government for making this valuable present to Mhadajee Sindia.

The inhabitants of Baroche, accustomed to the lenity of British jurisdiction, execrated the approaching change, and dreaded the arrival of Bascar Row, which had been delayed in consequence of a mistaken renewal of hostilities on the Malabar coast; the people of Baroche, in the mean time, indulged a vain hope that the intended cession would not take place. No prayers, no ceremonies, no sacrifices, were left unperformed by the different castes, and religious professions, to implore the continuance of the British government. It is with extreme satisfaction I recollect the unfeigned sorrow which pervaded all ranks of society when the fatal day was fixed for our departure. Baroche, before its conquest by the English, had belonged to the Moguls, and was governed by a Mahomedan nabob; the inhabitants well knew the difference that awaited them. Of all oriental despots, the arbitrary power of the Mahratta falls perhaps with the most oppressive weight; they extort money by every kind of vexatious cruelty, without supporting commerce, agriculture, and the usual sources of wealth and prosperity in well-governed states. The Mahomedans, although equally fond of money, spend it with more liberality, encourage useful and ornamental works, and patronize art and science.

On the ninth of July 1783, the day appointed for the cession of Baroche to Mhadajee Sindia, the chief and council received his agent, Bascar Row, with proper ceremony in the durbar, and there delivered to him the keys of the city-gates. We immediately repaired to the water side, to cross the Nerbudda in our

way to Surat, and were silently followed by the principal inhabitants of the city. While embarking on the Company's yacht, a dark cloud passed over us, and a shower of rain fell; our afflicted friends, no longer able to keep silence, and forgetting the impending terrors of a Mahratta despot, pathetically exclaimed "these drops are the tears of HEAVEN for the fate of Baroche!"

I oppose this fact to a thousand unfounded prejudices, and unsupported calumnies, against the English, which were once so easily credited in Europe. Among the many who occupy eminent stations in India, some no doubt deserve censure: the characters of all who fill similar situations at home are not immaculate: the temptations of wealth and power sometimes subdue the strongest minds; but the hour approaches when they cease to charm, and when a "conscience void of offence" will be the only comfort. Whether the European or Indian peculator, is now amenable to human laws, or not, a secret monitor corrodes every present joy, and an unerring Judge hereafter will avenge the breach of his own laws, established in truth and equity! The general opprobrium was unjust on a set of men, whose prevailing characteristics were philanthropy, generosity, and benevolence.

The sympathizing tear which accompanied the drops from heaven on our leaving Baroche, was a public testimony that the natives preferred the British to an Asiatic government; a love of truth, and an affectionate recollection of scenes long past, impel me also to insert a few instances of private attachment and gratitude from individuals among the Hindoos, Mahomedans, and Parsees, with whom I so long resided. They are letters addressed to myself and the friend of my heart, chiefly from our Indian ser-

vants and dependants, who lived with us from the time we entered on our own career of life, rose in circumstances as we rose in station, served us faithfully until our departure to Europe, and never left us until the ship was almost out of sight of land. I also select two or three similar tokens of remembrance from Asiatic friends in a superior walk of life. They are all in their original simple style, which would derive no advantage from alteration.

A Letter from Dowlet-Roy, Dessoy; a man in a high station at Baroche.

I am much obliged by your kind inquiries after me, in Mr. Corkran's letter; it was becoming your prosperity to notice your friend in adversity; for since the departure of the English, and the establishment of the Mahratta government at Baroche, I have suffered very cruel oppressions. Mr. Corkran, who is the only English gentleman of your council who remained here, is very kind to me, but he has no power to relieve my distress. A great many of the inhabitants of this city have left it, because they could not live under such tyranny; and your friend Lullabhy has suffered most of all; but I depend upon the pleasure of Almighty God: and Dowlet-Roy daily remembers the kindness of you and Mr. Dalton.

Baroche, 10th December, 1784.

Letter from Jevanjee Furdonjee, a merchant at Baroche.

I was much obliged by your kind notice of me, through Mr. Corkran, on your leaving India. I pray to God Almighty to give you a long life, and day by day to increase your dignity;

that you may be happy, and rise up in his favour, which I shall hear of with much pleasure. Mr. Dalton and you were always my good friends; and Jevanjee still hopes to see your feet in India once more before he dies! He will then be happy!

Baroche, 17th December, 1784.

Letter from Eddul Ruttonjee, an attached domestic servant, of the Parsee tribe.

I TAKE the liberty to address my honoured master with a few lines, which I hope will find you happily in health, with Mr. and Mrs. Dalton. You, Sir, in your great favour, recommended me to Mr. Seton at Surat, when you left India. That worthy gentleman is very good to me; though since my being settled here I have not had the happiness to hear of your safe arrival in Europe: but my worthy master must not put his poor Eddul far from his sight, after continuing so many years in his service: and I yet hope I shall receive one short letter, to tell me you are all well. Such a favour will make your servant Eddul happy.

Surat, 31st October, 1785.

Letter from Mahommed Khaun, an old and faithful Mahomedan servant.

UNDERSTANDING from your purvoe, Cassinauth Vettojee, that you, my worthy master, had mentioned me in your letter to him, and as Cassinauth is now sending a packet to you and Mr. Dalton in Europe, I have requested him to write this letter for me, that you may accept my humblest thanks for all your kindness during

so many years. I am happy to hear of your health, and that of Mr. and Mrs. Dalton, and I pray God to continue it and your prosperity; and I hope, wherever your good fortune may take you, that you will not forget your old servant Mahomed.

Bombay, 1st November, 1785.

Letter from Sorabjee Muncherjee, an eminent Parsee merchant at Bombay, after hearing the news of Mr. Dalton's death.

I TAKE this opportunity of writing to you, because I have heard the sad news of Mr. Dalton's death. It has given me a grief which I cannot express. As a child is doleful for the loss of his father, so was I afflicted for the death of so kind a friend—you, Sir, must feel very much indeed: but for death there is no remedy, and time will give comfort to the heart. You must now console his widow, your sister, for his death, and beg of God to keep his soul in his happy place! As for myself, such was his kindness in every respect in assisting me as a merchant, that during my whole life I never can forget it; but with all this you are well acquainted, as you and Mr. Dalton were one! I now wish you, Sir, much health and prosperity, and I hope you will ever keep a favourable sight upon your friend Sorabjee.

Bombay, 25th February, 1787.

When it was publicly known that Dhuboy and its dependent purgunnas were to be given up to the Mahratta government, and the day approached which was fixed for my departure, a deputation from the brahmins and principal inhabitants visited me at the durbar, and sincerely condoled with me on the change of affairs.

They offered presents, and were so hurt at my refusing any thing tendered for my acceptance, that I was at length induced to mention a gift which I could receive without conscientious scruples, if they could bestow it, which from delicacy alone I had not before asked. Expressing some surprise, and at the same time manifesting the greatest desire to oblige me, I told them, that as Dhuboy contained many remains of Hindoo antiquity, in broken columns, mutilated images, and remnants of basso-relievo scattered among dilapidated buildings in the city, I requested they would allow me to select a few of the smallest specimens from the exterior fragments, which I would bring with me to Europe, and erect a temple for their reception in my own garden. Their astonishment increased at this communication, and was followed by a solemn silence. They expressed no apprehension of my ridiculing their religion, but seemed anxious to know why a Christian wished to possess Hindoo idols. I found a little difficulty in convincing them of the general curiosity of Europeans, the gratification it would be to shew them those specimens of oriental sculpture, and the delightful association of my own ideas, when I should behold in my own country the precious relics transported from a distant spot endeared by a thousand tender recollections.

Their tears flowed when they requested to retire for a few hours, during which they would assemble the recluse religious brahmins, and in a conclave consider the first request of the kind which they had ever heard of. They returned the next morning with countenances indicating mingled sensations of regret at my approaching departure, and of delight at having it in their power to grant my request; to which they acceded in the most liberal

manner, desiring I would send my own people to select such specimens as I thought proper, and place them in a temple to Friendship in my own country. I did so; and deputed some *Hindoo* workmen to collect such small images as I pointed out in the dilapidated walls of forsaken dewals, and from the exterior ornaments at the Gate of Diamonds, which in eight groups now adorn an octagon building at Stanmore-hill, erected for that purpose, under a linden-grove on the margin of a lake profusely adorned by the nymphea lotos, which, when its snowy petals and expanded foliage are gently agitated by the southern breeze, reminds me of the sacred tanks in Guzerat.

I have often mentioned this lovely flower; the intelligent Mr. Knight throws a new light upon the subject: "growing in the water, amongst its broad leaves it puts forth a flower, in the centre of which is formed the seed-vessel, shaped like a bell, or inverted cone, and punctuated on the top with little cavities, or cells, in which the seeds grow to maturity, decay, and again shoot forth; for the orifices of these cells being too small to let the seeds drop out when ripe, new plants germinate in the places where they were formed, the bulb of the vessel serving as a matrice to nourish them until they acquire such a degree of magnitude as to burst it open and release themselves; after which, like other aquatic weeds, they take root wherever the current deposits them. This plant, therefore, being thus productive of itself, and vegetating from its own matrice without being fostered in the earth, was naturally adopted as the symbol of the productive power of the Deity upon the waters." To this Maurice alludes in his beautiful poem on the lotos of Egypt.

"Within thy fair corolla's full-blown bell
Long since th' immortals fix'd their fond abode;
There day's bright source, Osiris, lov'd to dwell,
While by his side enamour'd Isis glow'd.

What mystic treasures in thy form conceal'd,
Perpetual transport to the sage supply;
Where Nature, in her deep designs reveal'd,
Awes wondering man, and charms th' exploring eye.

In thy prolific vase, and fertile seeds,
Are trac'd her grand regenerative powers;
Life, springing warm, from loath'd putrescence breeds,
And lovelier germs shoot forth, and lovelier flowers."

Among the groups of Hindoo deities in the temple at Stanmore-hill, several are sculptured on the lotos, according with the fictions in that mythology. All my reliques from Dhuboy were packed up in chests, ready to accompany the stores and ammunition belonging to the company, with the return of the garrison, when Dhuboy was ceded to the Mahratta pundit. The 25th of April was the time appointed for that ceremony, agreeably to the treaty entered into between the British and Poonah governments. I had received instructions to deliver up the keys of the fortress on that day to the Mahratta governor, to strike the British colours, and proceed to Baroche with the whole garrison. When the gates were shut the preceding evening the pundit had not arrived, nor did he make his appearance on the morning fixed for my departure; I therefore resolved to leave the city in charge of the commanding officer of the company's troops, until the Mahratta governor arrived.

On that eventful day the principal Hindoo and Mahomedan

inhabitants of Dhuboy assembled in the inner court of the durbar. Their behaviour indicated something uncommonly solemn and mysterious, and a horror in their countenance very much surprised me. At length an aged brahmin with a few associates, came into the hall, and requested I would defer my departure to Baroche until the garrison and train of artillery proceeded with me, as that day was peculiarly unfortunate, and my journey would be attended with extreme danger. Knowing my incredulity respecting brahminical prognostics and cabalistical tables, they added to their usual strain a prevailing report, that in consequence of the late treaty between the company and the Mahrattas, by which the purgunnas under my charge were to be restored to the latter power, the Gracia chieftains had been for some time secretly convened at Mandwa, with a number of celebrated soothsayers, and having raised a large body of horse and foot, had resolved under the sanction of *Manha*, to cut me off or take me prisoner, on my return to Baroche.

The fact was, that the conquest of Mandwa and the captivity of the rajah's family, had struck a general terror among the Gracias, and my correspondence with the other chieftains accomplished every intended purpose without further bloodshed. They all sent ambassadors to Dhuboy, entered into treaties, and engaged the most respectable Bhauts to become security for their performance. The Gracias would probably have adhered to these terms, had the English power continued in Guzerat, but finding they were to withdraw their forces and lose their influence in that part of India, they determined to break the treaty; and indignant at the capture of a fortress hitherto deemed impregnable, and enraged against

the author of their disgrace, they vowed revenge; having entered into a secret combination to effect their purpose, they raised troops, and laid plans for my destruction, on my final journey from Dhuboy to Baroche.

To communicate this report of the Gracias' determination was one cause of the affectionate visit from the brahmins and elders of Dhuboy on the day of my departure; the other, which also sprung from attachment and gratitude on their part, produced sensations on mine which I never can forget.

> " All fame is foreign, but of true desert,
> " Plays round the head, but comes not near the heart;
> " One self-approving hour whole years outweighs
> " Of stupid starers, and of loud huzzas!" Pope.

After having apprized me of the impending danger, and vainly urged the procrastination of my journey, they presented me with an address they had just composed in the Hindoo language, translated into Persian by the durbar munsee, written on paper spotted with silver and flowered with gold, which is preserved with the original drawings and manuscripts from whence these volumes are compiled. The whole transaction filled me with ineffable delight, nor would I part with this token of their regard for all the gems of Golconda.

The following translation is divested of some lofty metaphors and hyperbolical compliments, which, though well intended, were too flattering for the performance of official duty, and my sincere endeavours to render them happy. I introduce it with the greatest diffidence, as an unexpected and affectionate tribute from a grate-

ful people, the last hour I saw them, when they could not expect another benefit from my hands. I insert it also with peculiar pleasure, because it so strongly militates against those unfounded prejudices and illiberal sentiments once entertained against the British character in India. It likewise affords an additional evidence of honourable feeling and attachment, opposed to many instances of ingratitude, oppression, and cruelty, by the zemindars and higher powers in Hindostan, inserted in preceding chapters.

Translation of the Persian Address from the Inhabitants of Dhuboy, to the English Collector, on the morning of his final departure.

ALLA!

"Thou conferrest power and greatness on the sons of men, according to thy pleasure: by Thee the nations of the earth are created; their kings and rulers are ordained by Thee!

"Dhuboy, famed among the cities of the east, was happy when this English sirdar presided in her durbar; his disposition towards the inhabitants was with the best consideration. He afforded shelter to all, whether they were rich or poor; he delivered them from trouble and restored them to comfort. All castes who looked up to him obtained redress, without distinction and without price. When he took the poor by the hand he made him rich: under his protection the people were happy, and reposed on the bed of ease. When he superintended the garden, each gardener performed his duty; rills of water flowed to every flower, and all the trees in the garden flourished. So equal was his justice, that the tiger and the kid might drink at the same fountain; and often

did he redeem the kid from the tiger's mouth. Under his administration the rich dared not to oppress the poor; for his eyes were open on the great and small!

"In this country we have not known any government so upright as that of the English:—Alas! if our protector forsakes us we shall be disconsolate as a widow: we shall mourn the loss of a father, and weep as for the death of a mother!—Alla! in thy mercy continue him to us!"

Truth and justice have often impelled me to mention extortions of avarice and oppressions of despotism: delightful have been my feelings in recording these nobler traits of the Indian character, when the hearts of the people, "as the heart of one man," rising superior to prejudice of caste and religion, obeyed the dictates of nature, feeling, and gratitude. As such I introduce it in favour of a people not renowned for attachment when hope and fear no longer influence their conduct.

— dignum sapiente, bonoque est, Hor.

Worthy a wise man, and a good.

Our mutual feelings on this occasion are easier conceived than described. After a short interval the superior brahmin requested I would retire with him and my linguist into a private room. He then renewed his entreaties that I should remain in Dhuboy until the garrison marched to Baroche, representing the danger which awaited me as immediate and otherwise unavoidable. He informed me the diviners had again been convened by the Gracia chieftains; they had again taken up their parables, pronounced

the *Mantra*, and doomed me to destruction. Secret as they had endeavoured to keep their machinations, some had transpired; and he produced not only oral reports, but written proofs of their intentions. One of the latter documents was almost literally the divination mentioned by the prophet Ezekiel, on the approach of the Chaldean army. "The king of Babylon stood at the parting of "the way, at the head of the two ways, to use divination. He "made his arrows bright, he consulted with images, he looked on "the liver. At the right hand was the divination to appoint cap-"tains, to open the mouth in slaughter, to lift up the voice "with shouting; to appoint two ways, and choose a place for de-"struction."

My venerable friend sincerely lamented my incredulity, assuring me the holy writings of the brahmins, and their constant experience in these matters, established the truth of his assertions; that the *Mantra*, or malediction from the brahminical soothsayers and diviners, was not to be slighted. It was dreaded throughout Hindostan, not only by Hindoos but Mahomedans; and even some of my own countrymen paid attention to the predictions and incantations of the brahmins, and were in some measure guided by their calculations. This I knew to be true in more than one instance, although it had no effect upon me. But during my absence with the brahmin in the interior of the durbar, I found something which had passed in the outer court had made a deep impression on my servants; they appeared to be extremely alarmed, and entreated me to postpone my journey. They laid great stress upon the Mantra denounced by the Mandwa brahmins and seers. It seemed to be as terrific as the anathema in the plenitude of papal power.

This mantra is explained in the Hindoo Pantheon to be an imprecatory incantation, generally composed of a passage from the Veda, in which the name of some tremendous deity occurs. The Hindoos, and indeed the Mahomedans also, have great faith in the efficacy of propitiatory incantations, and great dread of those of a malevolent tendency. The following passage from the Ramayana will exemplify this; and, with those who have faith in such works, affords a sufficient reason to fear the effects of such curses. —" Even he who cannot be slain by the ponderous arms of INDRA, nor by those of Kali, nor by the terrible *Chackra* of Vishnoo, shall be destroyed if a brahmin curse him, as if he were consumed by fire." In another part, brahminical potency, almost, it may be said omnipotency, is strongly enforced.

" Let not a king, although in the greatest distress for money, provoke brahmins to anger by taking their property; for they, once enraged, could immediately by sacrifices and imprecations, destroy him with his troops, elephants, horses, and cars.

" Who, without perishing, could provoke these holy men, that is, by whose ancestors, under BRAHMA, the all-devouring fire was created; the sea, with waters not drinkable; and the moon, with its wane and increase?

" What prince could gain wealth by oppressing those, who, if angry, could frame other worlds, and regents of worlds; could give being to new gods and mortals?

" What man desirous of life would injure those, by the aid of whom, that is, by whose ablutions, worlds and gods perpetually subsist; those who are rich in the learning of the Veda?

" A brahmin, whether learned or ignorant, is a powerful divi-

nity; even as fire is a powerful divinity, whether consecrated or popular. Thus, though brahmins employ themselves in all sorts of mean occupations, they must invariably be honoured, for they are something transcendently divine."

"Of created things, the most excellent are those which are animated; of the animated, those which subsist by intelligence; of the intelligent, mankind; and of men, the sacerdotal class. The very birth of a brahmin is a continued incarnation of Dherna, god of justice; for the brahmin is born to promote justice, and to procure ultimate happiness.

"Whatever exists in the universe, is in effect, though not in form, the wealth of the brahmin, since the brahmin is entitled to it by his primogeniture and eminence of birth.

"When a brahmin springs to light, he is born above the world, the chief of all creatures; assigned to guard the treasury of duties, religious and civil.

"He who, through ignorance of the law, sheds blood from the body of a brahmin, not engaged in battle, as many particles of dust as the blood shall roll up from the ground, for so many years shall the shedder of that blood be mangled by other animals in his next birth; or so many thousand years shall the shedder of that blood be tormented in hell."

Such insufferable pre-eminence, either implied or confirmed, in a variety of passages respecting the brahmins, pervades the code of Menu. Great indeed must be the sacrifice such men make, when they embrace a religion of which humility is the foundation stone. It would be difficult to convey an idea to the English reader of the surprize and horror which prevailed throughout the

durbar when the mantra was explained. My Mahomedan and Parsee servants seemed to be as much affected as the Hindoos.

Cicero justly observes, " superstitio fusa per gentes oppressit " omnium ferè animos, atque hominum imbecillitatem occupavit." —Superstition, when once diffused through the world, oppressed the souls of almost the whole human race, and fixed itself upon the weakness of our nature.

With people thus bigotted, and subject to such laws and usages, it was of no avail to argue. In vain I opposed to the divination of the seers the solemn treaties lately entered into, and the binding security of the Bhauts, given by the Mandwa rajah and Gracia chieftains; my Dhuboy friends remained immoveable in their superstitious belief, and were more concerned than offended at my incredulity. At length they dropped that part of the subject, and laid the greater stress upon the undoubted intelligence they had received of the plot devised against me by the Gracias. Having been informed that Ryjee Sihng, the principal Bhaut of Serulah, and one of their principal securities, was then in Dhuboy, to convince my friends that I did not entirely despise their counsel, I deviated a little from my first plan, and desiring him to be called, I directed him to get ready immediately and accompany me on horseback beyond the bed of a river in the wild country, between the Dhuboy and the Baroche purgunnas, a woody tract of Zinore, intersected by gullies and ravines, the haunt of wild beasts and *Bheel* robbers. This spot had been pointed out as the intended scene of action; and appearing so well adapted for an ambuscade, I resolved to pass it before the close of day. In all former journeys from Dhuboy to Baroche, a distance

of fifty miles, I had, to avoid the heat of the day, generally set off about five in the afternoon, and arrived at Baroche early the next morning. From prudential considerations, as well as to please my Dhuboy friends, I resolved to commence my journey three hours sooner; and, accompanied by the Serulah Bhaut, left the durbar at two, instead of five o'clock. We halted a short time in a grove without the city gates, waiting for my servants and palanquin-bearers, who were to follow with my escritoire, with a few papers and valuables, under the escort of an Indian cavalry officer. I left my linguist and upper servant at the durbar to come with the records and larger packages when the garrison marched to Baroche.

During this halt, with a mind more oppressed by sorrow at leaving the place than from any idea of danger on the journey, I wrote the following lines with a pencil, which, although since revised, contain the extempore effusions of a heart contending with many mingled sensations arising from my peculiar situation.

Dhuboy, farewell! farewell ye ancient towers,
Ye peaceful lakes, ye consecrated bowers!
Where studious brahmins, skill'd in mystic lore,
Avatars, Vedas, Menu's laws explore:
Where pious priests attend on Vishnoo's shrine
And ruthless Seeva claims the rite divine;
While Brahma's choral songs are heard no more;
Too great a god for mortals to adore.

Too great? ah mournful thought for human woe!
Best solace lost, that mortals e'er can know!
Not so the Christian's lore, my country's creed;
Our God is present help in time of need:

Though his great attributes, beyond our scan,
Yet is he FATHER to his offspring Man!
Though glory, majesty, and light his throne,
The earth his footstool, and the world his own;
Though seraphs' tongues loud hallelujahs raise,
And heavenly hosts, unnumber'd, hymn his praise,
Yet is the contrite heart his temple still,
Which he with joy ineffable can fill;
Amidst the songs of angels, pray'r ascends
From mortal lips, and with that incense blends.
The secret sigh, the penitential tear,
Receive a blessing from the God we fear:
His awful terrors veil'd from human eyes,
'Tis mercy gilds the Christian's opening skies!
From them did Bethlehem's star illume the night;
From them the Dove celestial wing'd her flight;
From them, the holy benediction came,
Proclaiming CHRIST, the great Immanuel's name:
From them the Gospel light on *thee* shall shine;
And give *thy* country day, as bright as mine.
Thy delegated Triad then shall fail,
And One Eternal Father thou shalt hail!
That glorious Saviour then thy sons shall know,
Who came from heaven these blessings to bestow:
To Him the brahmin proud shall bend the knee,
And outcast Pooleah from his chains be free:
The differing castes shall cease ignoble strife,
And poor Chandalahs eat the Bread of Life.
In virtue's path shall all serenely glide,
For God's eternal word shall be their guide!
"With him no high, no low, no great, no small,"
His mercy and his love extend to all,
Who meekly humble hear the shepherd's voice,
And wisely make his heavenly fold their choice:
For all are ransom'd by his wondrous love,
All are invited to the realms above:

Those blissful realms, where jarring castes shall cease,
And all be harmony, and joy, and peace!

One lustre scarce has swell'd the stream of Time,
Since Britain conquer'd in this favour'd clime;
Since Freedom here, her valued blessings pour'd,
And British laws and British rights procured:
Ah! now no more ye boast so mild a sway,
To despots doom'd an unresisting prey;
The day is fix'd that brings oppression dire,
And bids your mantling hopes and joys expire.

How short our triumph o'er this wide domain!
No honour'd vestige of our wars remain.
From Ahmed's splendid fanes and regal bow'rs,
To towns far distant on the Concan shores.
This spacious tract obey'd our mild command,
And British freedom bless'd a grateful land.

O sad reverse! these fair luxuriant plains,
Where Nature smiles, and golden Plenty reigns,
Where numerous flocks and herds adorn the meads,
And fruitful harvests wave their varied heads;
Where Nerbudda, majestic, rolls her tide,
And streams of lesser note pellucid glide;
Where stately castles, royal cities rise,
And fanes and Minars glad the pilgrim's eyes;
Where cheerful villages, and groves serene,
In beauty deck the bright expansive scene;
All these must feel Oppression's iron rod,
And bow, reluctant, to a tyrant's nod:
A stern Mahratta's power too soon must own,
And Freedom quit her Asiatic throne:
Your haughty rulers now again return,
Towns, cities, villages,—submissive, mourn!
Mourn for those blessings of so short a date;
For Scindia, Malwa's chief, has seal'd your fate!

Oppression! mighty foe of human kind!
Thy cruel deeds to darkness are confin'd:
No sun-beams play around thy gloomy form,
No council wise averts the gathering storm:
Thy giant arms extend a lengthen'd chain,
And captive nations feel its rankling pain:
Before thy lurid glare their courage dies,
And Hope expiring seeks her native skies:
Thy breath destroys the fairest fruits on earth,
And Nature's tears bewail thy direful birth.
Thy stature grew to more than mortal height,
And seem'd to blot the radiant source of light;
For where thou dwell'st is still a dreadful night.
But when the day-star from on high appears,
Thy reign shall vanish, and thy victims' fears;
Thy adamantine chains shall waste away,
And Liberty restore her cloudless day.

Ye bhauts! the oral bards of Indian climes,
Like Europe's minstrels in the feudal time,
'Tis yours to praise the chieftain's mighty deed,
And give the hero glory's deathless meed;
'Tis yours to raise, or melt, the human heart,
By all the fervours of the tuneful art;
'Tis yours to fill the void of History's page,
And thus immortalize the passing age:
'Tis yours to blow the golden trump of fame,
And twine the laurel round each honour'd name.

Ah! when you chant the legendary tale,
In crowded cities, or the rural vale,
How will you mourn fair Freedom's transient reign!
Whilst list'ning tribes lament the dirgeful strain!
Lament her blessings wither'd in their bloom,
And nations suffering in her hasty doom!
When you relate, with strict historic truth,
These changing scenes, familiar to your youth,

The wondering crowd will scarce believe a theme,
Fill'd with events that seem a passing dream.

But, rapt in visions of prophetic joy,
What bright'ning days in prospect you descry!
When clouds are vanish'd, and the sun appears
Resplendent, 'midst a nation's gloomy fears;
When Freedom's voice shall hail your native land,
And bear again the olive in her hand;
When she shall break the cruel tyrant's rod,
And, first of blessings! shew the path to God!
When she shall leave Hindostan's realms no more,
But ransom'd hope, and promis'd bliss restore!—
Prophetic bards! these lofty visions sing,
And Liberty from rising joy shall spring:
The captive shall forget his ponderous chain,
And join in chorus with the rapturous strain.

Dhuboy, farewell! thy gloomy change so near,
For thee I drop the sympathetic tear!
For thee I supplicate in silent pray'r,
That thou ere long these heavenly gifts may share!

On the arrival of my palanquin and effects at the grove, I placed them under the care of the cavalry officer, and eighteen armed horsemen; and with the other six, the Bhaut security on horseback, and a little favourite slave boy behind the carriage, I commenced my journey with full four hours day-light before us. I had previously sent off relays of bullocks; and travelling in a light hackaree, at the rate of five miles an hour, I passed through the wild country about sun-set, at least three hours sooner than usual. Not meeting with any molestation from the Gracias, and concluding the brahmins had been misinformed, I dismissed the

Bhaut, stopped a few hours to rest my people at the entrance of the Baroche purgunna, and reached home in safety early the next morning, where I related the late events at Dhuboy, and especially the prognostics of the brahmins respecting the Gracias, as totally without foundation. But when some hours had elapsed, without tidings of my servants and effects, nor the appearance of a horseman, I became alarmed. My suspense was not of long duration, for on looking anxiously towards the road, I saw a sort of funeral procession moving towards our garden-house, accompanied by the yells of female mourners, more dismal than any I had ever heard. It consisted of a mingled group of Mahomedans, Hindoos, and Parsees, a sight very unusual at an Indian funeral. There was a Mahomedan mosque and burying-ground near our villa, which they passed, and moved on immediately towards the garden gate. We now distinguished several different biers; on the foremost lay the headless body of my cavalry officer, followed by the violent exclamations of Mahomedan women. Another set brought the dead body of a Parsee servant, almost cut to pieces: others carried dead and wounded Hindoos of different descriptions, on the village cots. These they placed in the garden under our front veranda, and immediately renewed their dreadful lamentations.

When we could obtain silence, I learnt from the survivors, that about an hour after I crossed the bed of the river, my people and effects arrived at the fatal spot, where they were suddenly surrounded by upwards of three hundred armed Gracias, on horseback, and four hundred on foot, who immediately attacked my small party with the most savage barbarity, cut down the cavalry officer, killed a Parsee servant and several of my attend-

ants, and wounded many more. Elated with this success, and intoxicated by opium and bhang, their ferocious chieftains called loudly for the English sirdar, vehemently demanding when I should arrive from Dhuboy. My faithful people told them I had passed long before, and was then in the Baroche purgunna, far beyond their reach; although, travelling at the slow pace of oxen, I could not have been three miles distant. Thus disappointed, they renewed their insults, and frantic with bhang, committed further cruelty before they decamped with their plunder, consisting of horses, arms, my palanquin, sword, and some valuable effects; leaving the dead and wounded men on the spot, where they had fallen a sacrifice themselves, but would not betray their master.

The sight of the dead bodies and the accompanying lamentations, announced the first tidings of this fatal catastrophe. I have no language to express my feelings on this occasion. Tacitus, eminent for sublime conceptions and pathetic description, aids my recollection by a scene of far greater importance.

"Non tumultus, non quies; sed quale magni metus, et magnæ iræ, silentium est."

"It was not a tumult, it was not quietness; it was the silence of terror, and of indignation."

TACITUS.

I find it equally difficult to mention my own providential deliverance. The Gracias not pursuing me, seems so very extraordinary, that, among some other remarkable events of my life, I can, (without referring to second causes, or intermediate agency) only ascribe it to that Protecting Arm, which "is about our path and about our bed; for in the way wherein I walked they had privily laid a snare for me: I might have looked on my right

hand and on my left, but I had no place to flee unto, no man to care for my soul!"

Never can I forget the vociferation and exertion of the hired mourners in this melancholy procession; it had some resemblance to the howl at an Irish funeral; but so many imprecations and maledictions were mingled with affectionate inquiries and pathetic eulogy, that it is difficult to say whether curses or blessings most predominated: nor, in their frenzy, was it easy to distinguish whether the execrations were entirely applied to the murderers, or the innocent cause of the disaster. Their whole behaviour realized Irwin's account of a similar procession at Cosire in Upper Egypt, in consequence of a merchant, named Mohummed, being murdered in the desert between Ghinnah and Cosire; when a mournful train of females passed through the principal streets, uttering the most dismal cries. "One of them carried a naked sword in her hand, to imitate the weapon by which the deceased fell; they stopped at sundry places, and danced around the sword, to the music of timbrels and tabors. They paused a long time before the house inhabited by Mr. Irwin and the English gentlemen, and some of the women made threatening signs to their servants, which agreed with the caution the gentlemen had received to keep within doors. It would indeed have been dangerous to have faced this frantic company, whose clamours and extravagant gestures gave them all the appearance of the female bacchanals of Thrace, recorded of old. This scene continued for seven days, during which interval the female relations of the deceased made a tour through the town, morning and night, beating their breasts, throwing ashes on their heads, and displaying every artificial token of sorrow."

Thus the noisy processions, and various ceremonies performed by the relations and hired mourners for the murdered cavalry officer, continued at stated hours for several days. And as the Mahomedan burying-ground and place of prayer was very near my garden, they took care I should not be without some share in the tragedy. I certainly felt many unpleasant sensations, although after the first onset I was perfectly convinced there was no real sorrow in the case. It was rather a daily counterpart of Chardin's Persian scene, where, speaking of the Asiatic women, he says, "their sentiments of joy or of grief are properly transports; and their transports are ungoverned, excessive, and truly outrageous. When any one returns from a long journey, or dies, his family burst into cries, that may be heard twenty doors off; and this is renewed at different times, and continues many days, according to the vigour of the passion. Especially are these cries long in the case of death, and frightful; for the mourning is downright despair, and an image of hell. I was lodged at Ispahan near the royal square; the mistress of the house next to mine died at that time. The moment she expired, all the family, to the number of twenty-five or thirty people, set up such a furious cry, that I was quite startled, and was above two hours before I could recover myself. These cries continue a long time, then cease all at once; they begin again as suddenly at day-break, and in concert. It is this suddenness which is so terrifying, together with a greater shrillness and loudness than one could possibly imagine. This enraged kind of mourning, if I may so call it, continued forty days, not equally violent, but with diminution from day to day. The longest and most violent acts were when they washed the

body, when they perfumed it, when they carried it out to be interred, at making the inventory, and when they divided the effects. You are not to suppose the people that were ready to split their sides with crying out, wept as much; the greatest part of them did not shed a single tear through the whole tragedy."

Never was there a picture more truly drawn of the scene I daily witnessed in the precincts of the cemetery near our garden-house.

A person of consequence in Guzerat, well informed of the Gracias' intentions, told me, that although in the first onset they killed and wounded so many of my people, they had resolved not to destroy me at that time, but to carry me alive to one of their fortresses in the distant hills, where I should indeed have been fed with the bread of adversity, and have drank the water of affliction. No friend would have known where I was, nor how to have obtained redress; the English had no longer any influence, and the Gracia chieftains acknowledge no superior. Their inaccessible castles upon the mountains baffle the tactics of civilized nations, and bid defiance to their experienced generals. Shakespeare's creative imagination could alone have depicted my melancholy situation.

——————" where all things had been savage;
" Where I should ne'er have look'd on better days;
" Nor have with holy bell been knoll'd to church;
" Nor sat at good men's feasts; nor wip'd my eyes
" Of drops that sacred Pity had engender'd.
" —————— But in a fortress inaccessible,
" Amid the dungeon's melancholy gloom,
" I should have lost the *creeping hours* of time;
" Nor known what 'twas to pity, or be pitied!"

Dreadful as must have been this sort of captivity to a free-born Briton, even without the severities of a dungeon, or any additional torture, it would have been impossible for a reflecting mind not to have foreboded something worse. We are but too well acquainted with the cruelties inflicted by Asiatic despots from the earliest annals, to those recorded of the late tyrants of Mysore. The poisoned coffee, the crush of an elephant, or any kind of speedy death, is a merciful dispensation when compared with the refinements in cruelty often made use of by these adepts in human misery. A poison has been often administered to the ill-fated princes of the house of Timur, and prisoners of rank in Hindostan, which I should more have dreaded than the baneful cup, or the mute and bow-string. They speedily transmit the prisoner before the tribunal of a more merciful judge; but for the victim of imperial jealousy or revenge, certain poisonous drugs are mingled with his food, which by imperceptible degrees undermine his constitution, and deprive him of life in the course of a few days, a few weeks, or during a longer period of months, and even of years, as may be most gratifying to the will of a capricious tyrant.

Shocking as these relations are, my imagination would have recurred to one mode of destruction still more dreadful. The wretched agents of these royal murderers have the art of infusing deleterious ingredients into the sustenance of the prisoner, which tends to destroy the mental faculties, and by a gradual progress of imbecility terminate in complete idiotism. This Dr. Fryer confirms by a very curious description of these state prisoners; who, on committing any offence which subjects them to this destiny, "are sent by the king's order to a place of punishment, where the

keeper being informed of the heinousness of the crime, mingles for them a drink made of bhang, the juice of an intoxicating sort of hemp; this at first they refuse; but on receiving the addition of some dutry, made from the deadly solanum, called poss, it makes them so foolishly mad, that after a week's taking, they crave it more than ever they nauseated. They are then brought into the inner lodgings of the house, where folding-doors open upon delicious gardens, and apes, cats, dogs, and monkeys, are their attendants; with whom they maintain their dialogues, exercising over them their humour of an assassin, usurper, miser, or what their genius led them to, whilst themselves. After this manner they are imprisoned during the king's pleasure, or he order their cure, to restore them to their senses again; which otherwise, after their spirits are tired by a restless appetite of doing, and in the meantime have not a suitable recruit, they linger by a lasting leanness into the shades, which alive they represented."

Such enervating drugs and deleterious potions were well known in ancient Rome, and no doubt in the ancient ages of Greece. Dropping the allegory, Circe most probably administered similar beverage and baneful food to those who were unfortunately impaled within her magic circle.

> " On seats around, with downy coverings grac'd,
> " With semblance fair th' unhappy men she plac'd;
> " Milk newly prest, the sacred flour of wheat,
> " And honey fresh, and Pramnian wines the treat:
> " But venom'd was the bread, and mix'd the bowl,
> " With *drugs of force to darken all the soul!*"

A variety of poisons are mentioned by the Roman historians and poets, especially by Tacitus; many of a similar nature to

those now administered in India, and I believe in the southern parts of Europe. Numantina, the divorced wife of Plautius Sylvanus, a prætor of Rome, was accused of having distempered his brain by drugs and magic spells. Syanus procured a poison to destroy Drusus, which, operating as a slow corrosive, brought on the symptoms of a natural disorder. Piso, and his wife Plancina, were both accused of effecting the death of Germanicus by the same means. Martina, the confidante of Plancina, was notorious for her practices in this diabolical profession; and was sent for from Syria to Rome, to be tried with her employers for the murder of Germanicus. Claudia Pulchra, the friend of Agrippina, the widow of Germanicus, was accused of an attempt to poison Tiberius by spells and incantations; and Agrippina herself, urged by the agents of Sejanus, to beware of poison at that emperor's table, abstained from every thing set before her, and would not even taste the fruit which he presented with his own hand; which occasioned Tiberius to ask, "Should this woman be treated with severity, will any body wonder, when she now imputes to me the guilt of dealing in poison?"

A case still more in point with the modern Asiatic poisons, is the conduct of the second Agrippina, the infamous mother of the infamous Nero, both the unworthy offspring of the virtuous Germanicus. This wicked woman, when her husband Claudius went to Sinuessa for the recovery of his health, determined to execute the black design she had long harboured in her breast of taking the emperor off by poison, the more speedily to accomplish her ambitious views in favour of Nero. Tacitus says, "instruments of guilt were ready at her beck, but the choice of the

poison was still to be considered: if quick and sudden in its operation, the treachery would be manifest. A slow corrosive would bring on a lingering death. In that case, the danger was, that the conspiracy might, in the interval, be detected; or, in the weakness and decay of nature, the affections of a father might return, and plead in favour of Britannicus. She resolved to try a compound of new and exquisite ingredients, such as would make directly to the brain, yet not bring on an immediate dissolution. A person of well known skill in the trade of poisoning was chosen for the business. This was the famous Locusta; a woman lately condemned as a dealer in clandestine practices, bnt reserved among the instruments of state to serve the purposes of dark ambition. By this tool of iniquity the mixture was prepared. The hand to administer it was that of Halotus, the eunuch, whose business it was to serve the emperor's table, and taste the viands for his master." Claudius swallowed the poison in a savoury dish of mushrooms; and was shortly afterwards seized with sickness. Zenophon, the physician, corrupted by Agrippina, searched the emperor's throat by means of a feather tinged with the most subtle poison; thus accelerating the wishes of his cruel empress, and preventing a lingering state of imbecility and wretchedness.

Such are the ancient and modern effects of poison, equally well attested. A choice of them was in agitation against me, among the Gracias, for having protected the helpless villages intrusted to my care from their cruel depredations. My authority for this assertion was not derived from common report; Mr.

Callander, the British resident at Jamboseer, who accompanied me to Ahmedabad, and was highly respected throughout the country, corresponded with some Gracia rajahs, who had no concern with the chieftains of Mandwa and Veloria, and were in no shape implicated in their treachery; they assured him, in letters written after my providential escape, of what was the deliberate intention of those cruel tribes, had they secured me alive. These Gracia friends of Mr. Callander, aided by the bhauts of Serulah, were the means of recovering my palanquin and some other effects from the enemy; my sword they detained, as a trophy of their inglorious exploit.

I formerly mentioned the cruel sheep-skin death, sometimes practised by the Mahrattas, which was not forgotten among the various tortures meditated against me by those merciless chieftains. To be sewed up naked in the skin of an animal newly flayed, and therein exposed to the solar rays in India, without food or water, is perhaps one of the most cruel deaths ever thought of. The deprivation of sustenance would indeed mercifully hasten the death of the wretched sufferer; for dreadful must be the torture occasioned by the skin drying, contracting, and closely adhering to the flesh of the living victim.

I do not find any mention made of this punishment in Indian history, excepting one instance recorded in the Ayeen Akbery, which was probably of a similar nature. The anecdote is altogether curious, and concludes with one of Abul Fazel's usual remarks. During the khalifat of Waleed, Mohammed Cossim was sent against Dahir, a brahmin who had usurped the throne of the

rajah of Sind, and reigned at Tattah on the Indus. Dahir was slain in battle, and Mohammed Cossim sent the khalif, among other captives, two daughters of Dahir, together with presents of considerable value. The two young princesses, in order to revenge the death of their father, represented falsely to the khalif, that Mohammed Cossim had been connected with them. The khalif hereupon, falling into a rage, gave orders for Mohammed Cossim to be sewed up in a raw hide, and sent in that condition to court, where he was shewn to the princesses; who expressed great joy at seeing their father's murderer in such a situation. "It is astonishing how the khalif could issue such a cruel order without positive proofs of delinquency. A wise prince never suffers himself to be led away by reports; but exercises his circumspection, and makes diligent investigation, seeing that truth is scarce and falsehood common; and it behoveth him to be more particularly doubtful of whatever is said to the prejudice of those whom he has distinguished by peculiar marks of his favour, as the world in general bear them enmity, even without cause, and the wicked frequently put on the appearance of virtue, to compass the destruction of the innocent."

Abul Fazel does not say whether this cruel punishment of Mohammed Cossim terminated in his death; the reflections seem to imply that it did. Nor do they ascertain whether, like the Mahratta victims, the Mahomedan general was deprived of food and water: perhaps, after all, the misery of perishing by thirst in the torrid zone, is one of the most dreadful deaths that can be inflicted. In the lamentations for Moab, Sibmah, and Dibon, short, pathetic, and sublime, how strongly expressive is the doom

of the latter, alluding to this severest woe! "O! ye that dwell in Moab, leave the cities, and dwell in the rock like the dove! O vine of Sibmah! I will weep for thee, with the weeping of Jazer. O! daughter of Dibon, come down from thy glory, and "*sit in thirst.*"

Whether I was to have been taken off by poison, by hunger, or by thirst, is now of little consequence: my destruction was determined, and I escaped. When I reflect on this momentous crisis of my fate, I am naturally led into solemn and grateful contemplation. Near thirty years are elapsed, but the images are not effaced, and the retrospection creates sensations which I cannot describe. I, who appeared to be the sole object of their revenge, came off unhurt. But their machinations did not end in the wilds of Zinore, that disappointment only increased their resentment, and engaged them in new stratagems.

On the civil and military establishments being withdrawn from Baroche and its dependant purgunnas, our family passed the rainy season at Surat, and, for some time, resided at an English garden-house, without the Veriow-gate, at some distance from the city walls. After living there a few weeks, we observed every evening several persons lurking under the garden hedges, and concealing themselves in the adjoining fields: being strangers in the country, we did not at first attend to them; but a constant repetition of such mysterious conduct at length excited suspicion. I was, at that time, extremely ill of a fever; and never left the house, except to walk in the garden, before sun-set, which was rather earlier than these persons generally appeared. As they seemed to be in pursuit of an object which eluded their vigilance, it at length occurred,

that possibly they might be some kind of spies or agents employed by the Gracias to carry me off. On an investigation by the Surat police, this proved to be the fact; and Mr. Callander afterwards obtained certain intelligence of the plot by means of his correspondents in Guzerat. The Gracia rajah of Ahmood informed him, that the Mandwa and Veloria chieftains had again summoned the soothsayers, and made sure of my capture. I was once more destined to a hill fortress, and the emissaries were to have been handsomely rewarded.

Finding their last plot discovered, the Gracia hirelings left the Surat districts; but, from an apprehension of similar attempts, we immediately repaired to a house within the city. Having neither health nor spirits to encounter fresh difficulties, I embarked on the first vessel bound to Bombay, on the breaking up of the monsoon, some weeks before the rest of our family; for after the melancholy scenes at Baroche and Dhuboy, and our unsettled situation at Surat, I anticipated more satisfaction at Bombay. Soon after receiving orders from the governor and council for the evacuation of Baroche, we sent the English ladies to Surat, before the commencement of the rains. With them the charm of society vanished; a gloom pervaded the city, confidence in its Asiatic inhabitants was lessened, and many of the native troops deserted their colours. It is unnecessary to detail unpleasant circumstances, which, from lapse of time and change of affairs, have lost their interest. Neither have I particularised the incantations and ceremonies which were performed in the Hindoo temples, to propitiate Ganesa, the god of wisdom and policy, with other deities, in favour

of Baroche and its popular purgunna, that the English government might be continued over that fertile and happy country. Similar supplications were offered up in the Mahomedan Musjids, and at the sacred fires of the Parsees. *They* speak highly in praise of British administration in India.

Charms, talismans, and magical ceremonies of various descriptions, were said to have been practised by different castes, in hopes of producing the same effect. I have formerly observed, that however differently such things may be considered by enlightened Europeans, they are deemed of the utmost importance by the Asiatics; and, as a case strongly in point, in modern times, I shall finish the subject of oriental diviners, soothsayers, and sorcerers, of all denominations, with a note from the Hindoo Pantheon; in which the ingenious and intelligent author, after premising that both Hindoos and Mahomedans have extensive belief in sorcery and witchcraft, relates an anecdote of the late Nizam Ally Khan, at Hydrabad, now the greatest Mahomedan sovereignty in India. It is detailed in a letter, written from Poonah in January 1798, to a political correspondent, with this very just observation; "Ridiculous as it may appear, that such folly should have connection with politics, it is nevertheless true, that in this case they were closely combined: operating, or intending to operate, on the permanency of a ministry, the succession to the government, the influence of the English or French at the court of Hydrabad; and, consequently, on many points of great national importance.

"For some time past the Hydrabad newspapers have abounded

with accounts of necromantic endeavours against the Nizam's life; casting another ridiculous ray of light on the folly of that silly durbar. It seems suspected, that Thyniat an Nissa, begum, (Sekander Jah's mother) and the minister Azim ul Omrah, are jealous of the superior talents, spirit, and generosity, of Feridun Jah, his Highness's second son, and are using these shameful practices to undermine his father's affections. Evidences, manifestly suborned, affirm, that certain incantations have been performed on a wooden figure, arrayed in a suit of clothes, procured for the unholy purpose by the mother of Feridun Jah, from the Nizam's wardrobe, and that this effigy of his Highness was buried. The figure has been dug up, and produced, with some of the Nizam's hair, found drawn into its side; corresponding with the local seat of his highness's paralytic affection; his barber has been arrested, on suspicion of having furnished the hair. But the old prince seems to have sense sufficient to disbelieve his son being capable of acting so basely; and says, plausibly enough, that if he hath been palsied by sorcery, a discovery thereof should, by all necromantic rules, break the spell, and restore his withered limbs to their functions; whereas he continues as decrepit and helpless as ever. A *Moghlani* (or female Mogul) in Azim ul Omrah's family, who pretends to hold converse with spirits, has made all this stir. She affirms the Nizam to be under the influence of sorcery; and that his present disease is the effect of the incantations of no less than twenty-five magicians of Hydrabad, whom she offers to point out; and has named a nephew of an *asseel*, or bed-chamber woman of the Nizam, as

one of the number, who has been apprehended. Other ladies of the *Mahl* (or seraglio) are sadly alarmed, lest this wizard, who is much with the Nizam, should pitch also upon them."

The same author says it was once his misfortune to live in Bombay, in the immediate neighbourhood of an exorciser; who planted himself near his garden wall, and by the horrid yells and music, the necessary accompaniments of his craft, so disturbed his repose, that, failing by remonstrance and threats, he was forced to apply to the police for its restoration and security. This man must, from the number of his patients, have been of some note, or the possessed numerous; for every full moon he was occupied the whole night. It appeared that women were mostly, if not exclusively, possessed; but, lest his appearance should seem to sanction the annoyance, the author did not attend, to observe his noisy neighbour's exorcisms.

Such are the practices still continued, and accredited in one of the politest Mahomedan courts of India. They are more or less believed and practised throughout the extensive regions of Hindostan, and indeed in Persia and Arabia. Against these persons, Him, of whom it is emphatically written, *Him who maketh the diviners mad,* issued this solemn edict to his chosen people on their entering the land of Canaan.

"When thou art come into the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee, thou shalt not learn to do after the abominations of those nations. There shall not be found among you any one that

useth divination, or an observer of times, or an enchanter, or a witch; ór a charmer, or a consulter with familiar spirits, or a wizard, or a necromancer. For all that do these things are an abomination unto the Lord: and because of these abominations the Lord thy God doth drive them out from before thee."

Such were the people among whom I passed my last four years in India. In detailing the divinations, outrages, and murders of the Gracias at Mandwa and the wilderness of Zinore, as also their secret ambush intended at Surat, I have suppressed many anecdotes, interesting to myself, and those immediately concerned: for so much egotism, as unavoidably remains, I claim the indulgence of my reader. I confess I cannot now contemplate my extraordinary deliverance from the Gracia machinations without feelings more appropriate to solemn silence, than expression. The subject of a particular Providence requires the utmost delicacy and caution; because few, perhaps, are more liable to misconception and error; yet a reflecting mind must be conscious of peculiar feelings in peculiar circumstances: and, although as a fallible being, he may innocently fall into a mistake, if instead of encourageing pride, presumption, and vanity, he finds his heart filled with humility, gratitude, and adoration, to that Great First Cause, without whose divine permission not a sparrow falleth to the ground, he cannot be guilty of great aberration. I shall conclude this chapter, written throughout with extreme diffidence and humility, and no part of it, until very lately, intended for publication with the other selections, with an extract from Melmoth, who has treated this subject delicately and satisfactorily.

" It is not necessary, in order to establish the credibility of a particular Providence, to deduce it from known and undisputed facts. I should be exceedingly cautious in pointing out any supposed instances of this kind, as those who are fond of indulging themselves in determining the precise cases wherein they imagine the immediate interference of the Divinity is discoverable, often run into the weakest and most injurious superstitions. It is impossible, indeed, unless we were capable of looking through the whole chain of things, and of viewing each effect in its remote connections and final issues, to pronounce of any contingency, that it is absolutely, and in its ultimate tendencies either good or bad. That can only be known by the Great Author of nature, who comprehends the full extent of our total existence, and sees the influence which every particular circumstance will have in the general sum of our happiness. But though the peculiar points of divine interposition are thus necessarily, and from the natural imperfection of our discerning faculties, extremely dubious; yet it can by no means from thence be justly inferred, that the doctrine of a particular Providence is either groundless or absurd: the general principle may be true, though the application of it to any given purpose be involved in very inextricable difficulties."—Fitzosborne's Letters.

" He that dwelleth under the defence of the Most High, shall abide under the shadow of the Almighty! He shall not be afraid for the terror by night; nor for the arrow that flieth by day. He is my refuge, and my fortress; my God, in him will I trust! When

my spirit was in heaviness Thou knewest my path; in the way wherein I went, had they privily laid a snare for me. They sharpened their tongues like a serpent; adder's poison was under their lips. The Lord is my strength, and my shield; my heart trusted in him, and I was helped; therefore my heart greatly rejoiceth; and in my song will I praise him."

אֶבֶן הָעֶזֶר

CHAPTER XXXV.

TRANSACTIONS AT SURAT AND BOMBAY, AFTER THE EVACUATION OF BAROCHE, AND THE CESSION OF THE ENGLISH DISTRICTS IN GUZERAT TO THE MAHRATTAS.

1784.

"May not the pleasure of Omnipotence,
To every clime some secret good dispense?
Those who amidst the torrid regions live,
May they not gales unknown to us receive;
See daily showers rejoice the thirsty earth,
And bless the flowery bud's succeeding birth,
The various heaven of an obliquer sphere;
While by fix'd laws, and with a just return,
They feel twelve hours that shade for twelve that burn?
And may not those, whose distant lot is cast
North beyond Tartary's extended waste,
Where through the plains of one continual day,
Six shining months pursue their even way;
And six succeeding urge their dusky flight,
Obscur'd with vapours and o'erwhelm'd in night,—
May they not scorn our sun's repeated race,
To narrow bounds confin'd, and little space?" Prior.

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consequence—revisit Pulparra—Hindoo superstitions there—immolation of Hindoo widows never practised at Bombay—infanticide prevented in Guzerat—introduction of vaccination in India—its blessed effects—encouraged by the brahmins—previously known in the districts of Benares; authenticity of that fact—general statement of medical practice in India—particular instances—liberal and scientific character of Serfojee, rajah of Tanjore—letter from that prince—cure of the opthalmia—practice of medicine among the Mahrattas—zodiac rupees, by whom coined and for what purpose—arrival at Bombay—great alteration in the style of life and manners at that presidency—final resolves of the emigrants from Baroche—increase of population at Bombay—increase of private expense and the public expenditure—increase of crimes and punishments among the natives in consequence—ungrateful and immoral traits in the Indian character—letter on the desertion of sepoys—summary of Indian depravity, by Sir James Mackintosh—excursion to the islands of Salsette and Elephanta—improvements at Tannah—further remarks and illustrations of the excavations in those sacred islands—atmosphere of Salsette—reflections on the summit of the excavated mountains.

CHAPTER XXXV.

The last chapter concluded with the evacuation of Baroche, Dhuboy, and all the valuable districts belonging to the East India Company in Guzerat. When the yacht on which the chief and council embarked from Baroche arrived on the southern banks of the Nerbudda, we had the mortification to behold the Mahratta flag waving over the ramparts. It was the first time the natives had witnessed *that* standard of oppression. Their tears and other expressions of sorrow on that sad occasion have been recorded; some of them accompanied us to Surat in hopes of procuring situations, under the English government, either there or at Bombay.

Thus were the civil and military servants on the Baroche establishment, obliged to leave that once happy settlement, in the midst of the rainy season, and to seek an asylum at Surat, until the navigation opened to Bombay at the breaking up of the south-west monsoon in October. The three months now spent there afforded but little novelty or interest to a former description in 1772, and several subsequent visits.

The double government which had then existed in Surat, from the conclusion of the treaty entered into by the East India Company with the nabob's father, Moyen Odeen, in the middle of the

eighteenth century, was attended with many inconveniences. The firmaun obtained at that time from the Mogul emperor vested the English company with the government of Surat castle, and the command of the imperial fleet stationed at that emporium. It also gave them power to appoint a naib, or deputy, to the nabob, for the administration of affairs in that city. This mingled government of the English and nabob continued during the reign of Moyen Odeen, who died in 1763, and of his son Cootub Odeen, who filled that station during the whole of my residence in India, and died in 1790. Nizam Odeen succeeded his father in the nabobship, but the authority of the Mogul emperor being at that time dwindled to a name, this title was never confirmed by the court of Delhi. Nizam Odeen dying in 1799, the government of Bombay very properly interfered in the appointment of a successor, with a view of putting an end to tumults, confusion, and mischief, which on various occasions had molested the peace of Surat, occasioned by the exactions, oppressions, and corrupt administration in the nabob's durbar; especially in collecting the revenues and conducting the police of the city. This mal-administration had so often disturbed the happiness of the inhabitants, the walls and fortifications were in such a defenceless state, for want of timely repairs, and the surrounding districts had been so often invaded on the nabob's quarrels with the Mahrattas, that it was evident the power of a Surat nabob, now no longer an officer of the Mogul emperor, was inadequate to this important situation.

After a full and clear arrangement between the governor-general in council at Calcutta, and Nassar Odeen, the brother of the last deceased nabob, the Bombay government was authorized

to conclude a new treaty with Nassar Odeen, and to constitute him nabob of Surat, under the protection of the English East India Company, on the following conditions, viz. That an offensive and defensive alliance should take place between the contracting parties; that the civil and military administration should be on the part of the company; that the new nabob should be entitled to all the respect and distinctions of his predecessors, should have a suitable share of the revenue for his own expenses and those of his officers, and security for himself, his relations, and immediate servants, from the authority and process of the courts.

These conditions were acceded to, and a treaty concluded between Mr. Duncan, governor of Bombay (who went up to Surat for the purpose, in May 1800) and Nassar Odeen. In consequence of which peace, good order, and happiness, under an equitable administration have prevailed ever since in the city; her commerce and manufactures have increased, and the surrounding territory, placed in the hands of the company, and freed from Mahratta depredations, has flourished surprizingly, under the protection of the British flag. After an ample provision for the nabob, and deducting the charges of collection, the company receive an annual revenue amounting to three lacs of rupees.

When the Baroche emigrants arrived at Surat in 1783, the company's affairs were not very prosperous, either in India or Europe. In the latter the British nation had been at war with the French, Spaniards, Dutch, and Americans, and the company lost many valuable ships. In the former, the recent peace with the Mahrattas had deprived the Bombay presidency of all its valuable possessions in Guzerat; the hostilities in which the Eng-

lish were engaged with Tippoo Sultan, had been lately attended with disastrous consequences, especially in the recapture of Bednure, and the destruction and imprisonment of General Matthews, and the flower of the Bombay army. The forts of Onore and Mangalore on the Malabar coast, still held out against Tippoo's forces, but they were not expected to make a much longer stand against such superior power, when a prey to disease, and destitute of provisions, stores, and comfort of every description.

Thus gloomy was the general aspect of affairs on the western side of India. Compared with Bengal and Madras, the civil and military establishments at Bombay were always on a contracted scale; they were now much curtailed; the military from Baroche were stationed at the presidency, or ordered to the subordinate garrisons; but no compensation, nor place of emolument were offered to the civil servants exiled from Guzerat; not even a sufficient maintenance for gentlemen who had been from fifteen to thirty years in the company's service. In this dilemma, such as could accomplish it, resolved to settle their Indian concerns and to embark for England, by the first convenient opportunity. But in addition to other inconveniences, we were informed by our correspondents at Bombay, that the captains of the homeward-bound Indiamen demanded eight thousand rupees (1000*l.*) for the passage of a single person, and fifteen thousand for that of a gentleman and his wife. This was certainly imposed upon the passengers by the last ship of that description which had sailed from Bombay; some families were now returning by the men of war ordered home in consequence of the general peace in Europe and America; and on our arrival at Bombay we were offered a passage

on more moderate terms. The captain with whom we embarked for England received upwards of eighty thousand rupees, or ten thousand pounds sterling, for his homeward-bound passengers. One gentleman, distinguished for his liberality, gave five thousand guineas for the accommodation of his wife and family in this ship, besides an ample supply of Madeira wine, provisions, and delicacies for the table. This will be deemed a handsome compensation for five or six months board and lodging in any part of the world.

A great change had taken place at Surat during the last ten years. The splendour formerly kept up in the nabob's durbar, and the style of Mogul magnificence in which the principal Mahomedans lived on my first visit, seemed almost annihilated. Neither Hindoo nor Mahomedan pageantry now enlivened the public streets, and the war which had so long raged in Europe and India, affected the Asiatic commerce in general, but was most sensibly felt at Surat. Her dock-yards, storehouses, and bazars, indicated little of that life and spirit, formerly likened to the glowing picture of ancient Tyre; all was now comparatively silent and forsaken. The usual calamities of war had been heightened by the dreadful storm, which happened a year before on the western shores of India. The effects of its ravages at Baroche have been mentioned; at Surat it was still more tremendous. The tottering mansions of the Moguls, long out of repair, the slighter Hindoo houses, and the mud-built cottages of the lower classes, alike gave way, and buried many of their inhabitants in the ruin. Extensive parts of the outer walls and towers of the fortifications, long in a dilapidated state, fell down; and the whole city exhibited a scene of desolation.

In the surrounding country, whole villages, with the peasantry and cattle, were swept away. Every ship at the bar, with yachts, boats, and vessels of all descriptions in the river, either foundered at their anchors, or were driven on shore. Three ships richly laden, belonging to a Turkish merchant, were entirely lost; their cargoes exceeded five lacs of rupees. The Revenge, the finest cruizer on the Bombay station, foundered, and every soul perished; together with the Terrible, Dolphin, and several of the smaller armed vessels. The ravages of this storm extended along the coast for upwards of six hundred miles on the west side of India; but it was felt most about the latitude of Surat and Baroche, and added no trifling effect to the sombre appearance of this once animated emporium.

The palace and gardens at Mahmud-a-bhaug were nearly destroyed by the storm, nor did the nabob seem inclined to repair them. The garden-houses of the English gentlemen suffered much damage, but were now resuming their former appearance. Melancholy indeed was the general aspect of Mahmud-a-bhaug. The pavilions and detached buildings were blown to pieces, having by lapse of time, and the parsimony of the nabob, been for many years out of repair. The pavilions and smaller buildings, so often mentioned in the oriental gardens, separated from the princely mansion, are not to be considered like the generality of European summer-houses, as ornamental structures to embellish a vista, or command a prospect; on the contrary, being intended for use as well as ornament, they occupy different parts of the garden; sometimes connected to the principal building by corridores and verandas, oftener entirely detached, like those described in the chief's

garden at Baroche, where each pavilion, shaded by a slight veranda, and encircled by its own canals, fountains, and parterres, is appropriated to a respective purpose: the most retired is generally, among the Moguls, set apart for the zenana.

I have mentioned the similarity of the Roman villa at Pompeii (lately cleared from the mountain of volcanic matter, which overwhelmed it near eighteen hundred years ago), to the houses in eastern cities, particularly the Mogul dwellings at Surat: and the description of Pliny's elegant retreat at Laurentinum is very correspondent to such modern structures in Hindostan. Shah-Bhaug, the summer palace of the emperor Shah Jehan, near Ahmedabad, and Mahmud-a-Bhaug, at Surat, bear a striking resemblance to the Tusculan villa and Laurentinum, especially the detached building at the latter, which Pliny calls "Amores mei, re vera amores."

"Here is my heart, here fix'd my soul's delight,
"Here the calm slumber of forgetful night."

In Lord Orrery's essay on the life of Pliny, he tells Lord Boyle, "you will be delighted with a little garden apartment adjoining to his mansion at Laurentinum. He mentions it with ecstasy in his description of that villa, and tells us that he constantly lodged in that apartment during the noisy festivals of Saturn; and at once found himself not only enclosed in sweetness and solitude, but perfectly defended from all kinds of interruption. Doctor Shaw, in his travels through the Levant and Barbary, and in his description of the houses there, takes notice, that they have imitated the eastern manner, by building a private set of apartments, which seem rather annexed, than properly belonging to the rest of the

house. The little chamber designed by the Shunamite for Elisha, where he retired at his pleasure, without breaking in upon the private affairs of the family, and without being interrupted in his own devotions, may be conjectured to be one of these separate buildings; as may also the summer parlour of Eglon, where he was slain by Ehud."

Zulam-Bhaug, the "Garden of Oppression," formerly noticed, called by the nabob, Alla-Bhaug, Paradise, or literally the "Garden of God," still continued to be his favourite retreat. The damages sustained by the storm had been all repaired, and its beauties heightened by every means which his wealth, power, and influence, could accomplish. Although the pavilions and other buildings were less magnificent than those at Mahmud-a-Bhaug, and some other of the nabob's palaces, the grounds were more artless and beautiful than the generality of the Indian gardens; and profusely adorned with trees, shrubs, and flowers; not only of those indigenous to Hindostan, but with every variety procurable from China, Persia, and Europe. The apple and the peach, flourishing with the Chinese roses and oranges, interspersed among mangos, plantains, and tamarinds, reminded me of the interesting associations at the Cape of Good Hope; and more than any thing I had seen in India realized Mason's beautiful description of an oriental garden.

"Amid ambrosial tufts, where spicy plants
"Weeping their perfum'd tears of myrrh, and nard,
"Stood crown'd with Charon's rose; or where, apart,
"The patriarch palm his load of sugar'd dates
"Shower'd plenteous: where the fig, of standard strength,

"And rich pomegranate, wrapt in dulcet pulp
"Their racy seeds, or where the citron's bough,
"Bent with its load of golden fruit mature."

In these gardens I made considerable additions to a collection of near two hundred specimens of seeds I had preserved from the trees, shrubs, and flowers at Baroche, and different parts of Guzerat; many of which have since flourished in the conservatory at Stanmore-hill. There I have had the pleasure of beholding the tamarind-tree, custard-apple, and cotton-plant, flourishing with the ginger, turmerick, and coffee; and have gathered ripe guavas from a tree entwined by the crimson ipomea, the lovely *Mhadavi*-creeper of the Hindoos; encircled by the changeable rose (hibiscus mutabilis) the fragrant mogree, attracting alhinna, and sacred tulsee. I have not succeeded with the mango, which, in larger conservatories, has not only blossomed, but produced fruit; in those belonging to the Duke of Northumberland, and perhaps in some others. The fruit, I believe, did not arrive at full maturity; the blossoms were in perfection and richly scented. The *amrah*, or bloom of the mango, is mentioned among the five warm flowers in which the arrows of Cama Diva, the Hindoo god of love, are said to be dipped, as formerly mentioned in the hymn to that deity. "Sweetly," says another tender lamentation, "delightful are the flowers of the amra on the mountain top, while the murmuring bees pursue their voluptuous toil: delightful, yet afflicting to me, O friend, in the absence of the youthful Kesava! I am not the terrible Mahesa: a garland of water lilies, with subtle threads, decks my shoulders; not serpents with twisted folds. The blue petals of the lotos glitter on my neck, not the azure gleam of poi-

son. Powdered sandal-wood is sprinkled on my limbs, not pale ashes. O, god of love! mistake me not for MAHADEVA; wound me not again; approach me not in anger; hold not in thy hand the shaft barbed by an amra flower!"

The custard-apple, or *ramphul*, is delineated in the first volume with the bulbul, or Indian nightingale. The *sitaphul*, another species of custard-apple, is not engraved. When I made the drawings, and abridged my description of the Indian fruits, I knew not of their symbolical meaning, nor religious dedication, as mentioned in the Hindoo Pantheon; where the ramphul, or fruit of RAMA, is said in its shape to form a cone, and is hence sacred to Siva; as placed on its base it resembles a pyramid. Its coat is exceedingly rough, being divided into lozenges by lines deeply indented, drawn spirally right and left, and intersecting each other, from the insertion of the stalk to the tip. "Another species is named *sitaphul*, after SITA, spouse of RAMA (incarnations of VISHNOO and LACSHMI); this fruit is delectably smooth and soft outside, and in shape not so conical as the other. It is fancied to resemble the *mamma* of the human female; and legends are popularly related of the origin and application of these appellations, which I shall not explain or detail. It is not always that the popular legends of Hindoo fabulists will bear expounding to an European reader."

I failed in many of the seeds gathered from those fragrant trees and shrubs, which in such great variety delight the Indians; especially the females of every caste and description. The fields, as well as gardens, around Surat, are cultivated for this purpose, not only to adorn the ladies, but the Hindoo temples, images, and

dancing-girls belonging to them. They are still more profusely used to perfume the oils and unguents, which are so universally esteemed in Asia. These, preserved in small bottles, and boxes of onyx or alabaster, make a conspicuous figure on the Indian toilette, and form a considerable article of traffic with the borahs and travelling merchants throughout Hindostan; especially those from the sandal and mogree; the roses of Surat are neither so abundant or fragrant as to produce the valuable ottar. Resembling some of these, was probably the box of ointment used by the pious Mary, and the nard mentioned in the invitation from Horace to Virgil.

> "Nardo vina merebere,
> "Nardi parvus onyx eliciet cadum." Ode 12. l. 4.

Of late years, the most beautiful villas and gardens at Surat, at least those in the best condition, no longer appertain to the Moguls or Hindoos; but, with very considerable landed property in the outer city and adjoining districts, belong to the Parsees, a numerous and industrious tribe mentioned in a former chapter. These Persian emigrants are now wonderfully multiplied: excepting the extraordinary instance of the children of Israel, there is, perhaps, no record of so great an increase as among the Parsee tribe in India, sprung from the few families who emigrated thither for the preservation of religious liberty. Active, robust, prudent, and persevering, they now form a very valuable part of the company's subjects on the western shores of Hindostan, where they are not only protected, but highly esteemed and encouraged. They never interfere with the government or police of any country where they settle, but gradually and silently acquire money, and

the influence usually depending on such an acquisition. The Parsees not only acquire wealth, but enjoy the comforts and luxuries naturally accompanying it; as is evident in their own domestic economy, and especially in the entertainments they sometimes make for their English friends at Bombay and Surat, where Asiatic splendour and hospitality are agreeably blended with European taste and comfort. Subject to little spiritual or temporal influence of their priests, and liable to few restrictions in food, fasting, purifications, and religious mortifications, compared with the Hindoos, and even the Mahomedans, they know how to appreciate and enjoy the blessings by which they are surrounded.

Surat at that time contained only the shadow of a Mogul court; an extensive commerce, of far more importance to its aggrandizement, rendered it the first emporium in India, and the resort of merchants from every quarter of the globe. It was also the residence of several eminent and learned Mahomedans from Persia and the northern provinces of Hindostan, where Mogul literature, art, and science, no longer met with encouragement. I occasionally associated with these literati, as also with many Armenians and Turks, at the villa of Mulna Facroodeen, a rich Mogul, partial to English society.

At these visits, and similar opportunities during three months' leisure in this extensive and opulent city, I was at some pains to investigate the progress of art and science, and the extent of literary acquirements. Incompetent myself, from an insufficient knowledge of the language, to form a conclusion, I do not offer a decisive opinion upon the subject; but if not misinformed by those more able to make a proper estimate, it may be safely affirmed;

that their knowledge is contracted, and their sentiments illiberal. I have occasionally mentioned the few exceptions within my own observation of the natives of India, and we may conclude that Gibbon's remark on the Arabians may be justly applied to the generality of Asiatics, and especially of the Indian moslems in higher classes of society: "That they deprived themselves of the principal benefits of a familiar intercourse with Greece and Rome, the knowledge of antiquity, and the freedom of thought. Confident in the riches of their native tongue, the Arabians disdained the study of any foreign idiom. The Greek interpreters were chosen among their Christian subjects; they formed their translations, sometimes on the original text, more frequently perhaps on a Syriac version; and in the crowd of astronomers and physicians, there is no example of a poet, an orator, or even an historian being taught to speak the language of the Saracens. The mythology of Homer would have provoked the abhorrence of those stern fanatics; they possessed in lazy ignorance the colonies of the Macedonians, and the provinces of Carthage and Rome. The heroes of Plutarch and Livy were buried in oblivion; and the history of the world before Mahomed was reduced to a short legend of the patriarchs, the prophets, and the Persian kings. Our education in the Greek and Latin schools may have fixed in our minds a standard of exclusive taste; and I am not forward to condemn the literature and judgment of nations, of whose language I am ignorant. Yet I *know* that the classics have much to teach, and I *believe* that the orientals have much to learn. The temperate dignity of style, the graceful proportions of art, the forms of visible and intellectual beauty, the just delineation of character and passion, the

rhetoric of native argument, the regular fabric of epic and dramatic poetry. The influence of truth and reason is of a less ambiguous complexion. The philosophers of Athens and Rome enjoyed the blessings and asserted the rights of civil and religious freedom. Their moral and political writings might have gradually unlocked the fetters of Eastern despotism, diffused a liberal spirit of inquiry and toleration, and encouraged the Arabian sages to suspect that their caliph was a tyrant, and their prophet an impostor. The instinct of superstition was alarmed by the introduction, even of the abstract sciences; and the more rigid doctors of the law condemned the rash and pernicious curiosity of Almamon. To the thirst of martyrdom, the vision of paradise, and the belief of predestination, we must ascribe the invincible enthusiasm of the prince and people. And the sword of the Saracens became less formidable, when their youth was drawn away from the camp to the college, when the armies of the Faithful presumed to read and to reflect."

The effects of the belief in predestination, not only among the Mahomedans just mentioned, but the Indians in general, are wonderful, and pervade their whole conduct. The entrance of the jumma musjid, or grand mosque, in the capital of a district, had been adorned by two lofty minars; one of them struck by lightning, fell down at a few feet from its base, and left the other a desolate beauty. On inquiring why the damage was not repaired, the mullah told me their religion did not permit it when produced by such a cause.

It would be unpardonable to conclude the subject of oriental literature without mentioning Avyar, a celebrated female philo-

sopher among the Tamuls. Dr. John, in the protestant mission on the Coromandel coast, has given a very interesting account of this extraordinary woman, accompanied by many valuable translations from her writings. This Indian phenomenon was a polytheist, and invoked the god Pulleyar, or the deity held by the Hindoos to be the protector of learning and science, as Mercury was among the Greeks. The time in which she lived, is placed in the age of the three famous kings, Sholen, Sheren, and Pandien, which falls about the ninth century of the Christian æra. Amongst other sciences this lady was well acquainted with chemistry, and her moral writings were written for the benefit of mankind, particularly for youth. Her performances are introduced in the Tamul schools, and read by the children amongst the first books which they learn. Dr. John further says, "but neither the children understand it, nor can hardly any master comprehend each of the sentences they contain; as some are composed of such high and abstruse words, which admit more than one sense, and some say that each sentence could be interpreted in five different ways. Some appear to me clear enough, and admitting only one interpretation; but some are so dark, and those with whom I have consulted, vary so much amongst themselves, that I found it difficult to decide between their interpretations; and I chose therefore that which gave the best sense, and according to that manuscript which I possess; for there are also different manuscripts. The sentences are placed according to the order of the Tamul alphabet; each accordingly begins with a letter; therefore we may call it, the golden alphabet of the Tamuls. From several hundred aphorisms and maxims, translated from three treatises by Avyar, I have selected the few following, as a specimen.

FROM THE ATISUDI, BY AVYAR.

Glory and honour be to the divine son of him who is crowned with the flowers of the Ati.

Charity be thy pleasure.
Be not passionate.
Do not manifest thy secrets.
Give, and then eat.
Never cease to improve in learning.
Build not too large a house.
Forget offence.
To protect is noble.
Do not part with thy friend.
Be not slothful in thy actions.
Keep company with the virtuous.
Do not speak too much.
Converse with those who are polite.
Save rather than destroy.
Do not pursue a conquered enemy.
Do not occupy thyself with trifles.
Keep the divine laws.
Cultivate what gives the best fruit.
Go not where a snake may lie.
Be prudent in applying thy money.
Do not despise thy ancestors.
Make not others blush by thy speaking.
Do not come near one who is in a passion.

Go not into the house of the dancing-girls.
Do not like dispute.
Endeavour to get a house of your own.
Be clean in thy clothes.
Go only where there is peace.
Love religious meditation.

FROM THE KALWIOLUCKAM, OR RULES OF LEARNING, BY AVYAR.

The zealous study of sciences brings increasing happiness and honour.
Learning is really the most durable treasure.
A wise man is like a supporting hand.
If all should be lost, what we have learned will never be lost.
What we have learned in youth, is like a writing cut in stone.
He who has learned most, is most worthy of honour.
Though one is of low birth, learning will make him respected.
In proportion as one increases in learning, he ought also to increase in virtue.
If knowledge has a proper influence upon the mind, it makes us virtuous.
Science is an ornament wherever we come.
If one knows what sin is, he becomes wise.
Religious wise men enjoy great happiness.
Wisdom is the greatest treasure on earth.

In whom is much science, in him is great value.
Wise men are exalted above all other men.

FROM THE MORAL SENTENCES CALLED KONNEIVENDEN, BY AVYAR.

Mother and father are the first known Deity.
Obstinate children are like a poisonous draught.
If thou cherishest passion, all thy merit is lost.
To obey thy father is better than prayer.
To honour thy mother is better than sacrifice.
Be peaceful, give, and be happy.
The best ornament of a family is unanimity.
The best ornament of a female is modesty.
Without a clean conscience, there is no good sleep.
A mild temper is a beauty in women.
Amongst relations civility is too often neglected.
Even with thy nearest friends speak not impolitely.
Speak friendly even to the poor.
The fruit will be equal to the seed.
A bad wife is like a fire in the lap.
A slandering wife is like a devil.
Let thy fellow creatures partake in thy enjoyments.
Without religion is no virtue.
If the Lord is angry, no man can save!

If any faith could be placed in a legend recorded in the Ayeen Akbery, we might suppose AVYAR had paid a visit to the college

of Benares, and the classical font at Belgram, a town in the province of Oude, celebrated for producing men with lively imaginations, and melodious voices; and containing a well, of which whosoever drank for a continuance of fifty days would find his understanding enlivened, and his eye-sight brightened. The modern literati of India, if such there are, seem to have forsaken this Pierian spring, as very few traits of genius appear among them. That a few men from the brahmin seminaries may occasionally appear in the path of science, is nothing extraordinary; but a female scholar, like Avyar, is a prodigy in Hindostan. As such I have been the more particular in her portrait; so contrasted in all respects to that of the Hindoo, Mahomedan, and Parsee women. Whether confined within the secluded haram, or of more easy access in a voluptuous city, the oriental females, far from cultivating intellectual entertainment, pass their time either in listless apathy, or personal decoration. The latter especially prevails in a certain class of beauties, most accurately described by an ancient prophet, as also the costume of her lovers: "Thou hast washed thyself, and painted thine eyes; thou hast decked thyself with ornaments, and seated thyself upon a stately bed; with a table prepared before it, whereupon thou hast placed incense and oil. The voice of those that are at ease is with thee; of captains and rulers of Assyria, desirable young men, clothed gorgeously; and of Sabeans from the wilderness, which put bracelets upon their hands, and beautiful crowns upon their heads."

Ostentatious splendour and pageantry formerly existed at Surat, as much as in most oriental cities, where a nabob, or delegate from the Mogul empire, held his court. His durbar was al-

ways an epitome of the imperial arrangements at Agra and Delhi. These state insignia seem to be absolutely necessary among people so much attracted by outward appearance; and is equally unavoidable, in some degree, wherever an Englishman resides in a public character, vested with a delegated authority, whether he is entitled a governor, a chief, a judge, or a collector. The people in general do not enter into those distinctions, they consider him as intrusted with the executive power, and the more enlightened view him as the representative of the British nation. Humble, as was my own situation in the Company's service, on the general system at Bombay; and, as collector of Dhuboy, subordinate to the chief and council at Baroche; yet, being the only Englishman intrusted with civil authority in the Dhuboy purgunnas, I lived in the durbar, the residence of their ancient rajahs, pundits, and governors; and, as far as the inhabitants could judge, was possessed of supreme power and influence. I was, therefore, often gently reprimanded by the zemindars and native officers, for leaving the suwarree, or state attendants, at the outer gate of the city, when I took my evening excursion, and preferred a walk in the fields, followed by a single peon and a faithful dog, to being smothered in dusty roads by an ostentatious cavalcade. It would have been as imprudent to have waved the ceremony of official insignia within the precincts of the Dhuboy durbar, as it would have been irksome to parade with such imcumbrances on a rural recreation.

At this time, when surrounded by ten times more Asiatic pomp than I had any reason to expect would fall to my lot, how often have I wished, and in familiar letters to my English friends

expressed the wish, that I was enjoying a primrose bank and hawthorn hedge in my native country. With gratitude I acknowledge my wishes have been granted; and few, perhaps, have tasted the rural pleasures and vernal delights of this happy island, for near thirty years, more than myself, to whom they possess additional zest from having been so long deprived of them.

The umbrageous banian trees and the sacred groves at Pulparra shared the same fate as those in the surrounding country, during the late storm. I revisited those brahminical seminaries which had formerly afforded me so much delight. A long and more intimate intercourse with the brahmins and higher classes of Hindoos had rather lessened them in my esteem, since I received my first impressions in this sanctuary; in that respect, as well as in its shady honours, I found Pulparra had lost many of those charms with which twelve years before I had been so captivated. The lives of the luxurious priests, the ignorance of the worshippers, and the penances of the devotees, now appeared not only superstitious, but useless and absurd. The unhallowed fires were still kindled for the innocent female victims; the temples still open to the higher castes of Hindoos, still shut against the poor chandala and humbled pariar. But as the Surat government is now no longer divided, and the English laws, properly blended with the Hindoo and Mahomedan codes, are now established, we may hope that many flagrant abuses in the corrupt durbar of the nabob will be remedied, and the cremation of Hindoo widows be no longer permitted. No woman has burnt herself on the island of Bombay for these last fifty years, to my knowledge; nor do I believe this species of suicide has been allowed of

since the English possessed it. Surely, then, it may be gradually and peaceably abolished wherever Great Britain extends her influence. Although not one of these infatuated females have immolated themselves during that long period in Bombay, it is a fact, too well established, that very lately, in the short space of six months, and within the compass of thirty miles round Calcutta, one hundred and fifty women, some of them virgin widows, have sacrificed themselves on the funeral pyre of their husbands. To what extent this cruel, destructive, and impolitic system prevails among thirty millions of Hindoos subject to British laws and government, it would be impossible for me to determine; the proportion must be painfully great. In this estimate of thirty millions neither Mahomedans, Parsees, nor the warlike tribes and lower castes of Hindoos are included: the calculation is only intended for those classes who, more or less, accede to this destructive tenet. The whole population of the British empire exceeds sixty millions.

Infanticide, as formerly mentioned, has, within these few years, been exterminated in Guzerat, and thousands of happy mothers, in all succeeding ages, when caressing their infant daughters, will bless the name of DUNCAN. Surely, therefore, the horrid spectacle of female suicide will be for ever abolished; for we must recollect, as instanced in the vizier of Brodera's wife, it is not only a widow, but a mother, a daughter, an ornament in all the relative situations of life, that thus dedicates herself to the flames.

The English have introduced the blessings of vaccination among all descriptions of people in Hindostan. By which means the lives of thousands, and tens of thousands, are annually preserved. In this humane undertaking the brahmins have risen

superior to prejudice, and under their extensive and powerful influence all other castes of Hindoos have adopted the practice. Many letters on this subject, from eminent brahmins to medical gentlemen in India, do them honour; they contain the most liberal sentiments, and have been followed by a corresponding practice. *Mooperal Streenivasachary*, a brahmin, thus writes to Dr. Anderson at Madras on vaccine inoculation.

"I beg leave to observe, for the information of the natives of this country, that I have perused the papers which you have published on that wonderful, healthful, and immortal vaccine matter, discovered on the nipple and udders of some cows in England, by that illustrious physician Dr. Jenner; whereby the loathsome, painful, and fatal small-pox has been prevented from seizing the many of our fellow-creatures in India, as well as in Europe.

"I am an eye-witness, as well as many others, that numbers of children here have been inoculated with vaccine matter, without any injury or blemish whatsoever, excepting a small spot at the place where the matter is applied, which is commonly on the arm. It is therefore greatly to be wished that an intimate knowledge of this wonderful discovery may be acquired by the natives of this country, so as to enable them to preserve the lives of the rich and honourable, as well as those of low castes. On this account, it might be useful to remove a prejudice in the minds of the people, arising from the term cow-pock, being literally translated *comary*, in the advertisement which has been published in our Tamul tongue; whereas there can be no doubt that it is a drop of nectar from the exuberant udders of the cows in England,

and no way similar to the humour discharged from the tongue and feet of diseased cattle in this country.

(Signed) MOOPERAL STREENIVASACHARY."

As vaccination is now so generally adopted in Hindostan, and likely to become a universal blessing in that populous part of the globe, it may be satisfactory to mention the following singular fact, respecting the antiquity of vaccination in India, taken from the Asiatic Register for 1804; which is altogether a curious and authentic addition to a subject so interesting to humanity.

" The fact stated in the following translation of a written memorandum from the nabob Mirza Mehady Ali Khan, who was long resident at Benares, that the effects of vaccination have been known for a great length of time in that celebrated quarter of India, is referred to the investigation of those who have the opportunity and ability, since they cannot want the inclination, to prosecute so interesting an inquiry. The undoubted intimation of this fact, that vaccination has been practised among the worshippers of Bowannee, will not detract an iota from the merits of the Jennerian discovery; the fortuitous and happy circumstance that led to the discovery in Europe, has been unquestionably and most satisfactorily proved, whilst the anxiety, study, perseverance, and indefatigable exertions, which have been applied by its benevolent professor to ensure the conviction of the world, in the unbounded benefit of the discovery, have entitled him to the lasting gratitude of mankind. The full ascertainment of the fact will only go to afford an additional instance of primeval oriental

knowledge; whether acquired or accidental, is to be hereafter proved. It will only open an additional, neglected mine, for the curious and the learned; and will be another proof that the East has been the seat of wisdom "where learning flourished, and the arts were prized;" however much the neglect with which this knowledge has been treated in this country, may reflect upon the modern degeneracy, or the prejudices of the Indian character; which may, however, be all accounted for, from the effects of the various revolutions to which their country has, for so many ages, been a prey; leaving thence room to the liberal construction of the unbiassed of every nation to conclude, that before the introduction of a foreign sway into Hindostan and the Deccan, its Hindoo inhabitants were versed in the arts and sciences, far beyond the other parts of the world, at the same remote period of time."

Translation of a written memorandum from the nabob Mirza Mehady Ali Khan.

"During the period of my abode in the dictrict of Benares, my eldest son being taken ill of a bad kind of the small-pox, and my friends interesting themselves for my comfort and his relief, one of them, named Slookum Chund, a Hindoo, pointed out to me that there was in the city of Benares one Alep Choby, a brahmin from Oude, whose practice was chiefly confined to this malady. Him, therefore, I lost no time in sending for to the town of Ghazeepoor, where I dwelt; and he arrived on the ninth day of the eruption; on seeing which, he observed, that if the

eruption had not taken place, he would have endeavoured to facilitate and render it easy, but that now it was too late. On asking Choby what his process was, he said, "From the matter of the pustule on the cow, I keep a thread drenched, which enables me, at pleasure, to cause an easy eruption on any child; adoring, at the same time, Bowannee (who is otherwise called Debee, Mata, and Sebla, and who has the direction of this malady) as well in my own person, as by causing the father of the child to perform the like ceremonies; after which I run the drenched string into a needle, and drawing it through between the skin and flesh of the child's upper arm, leave it there, performing the same operation in both arms, which always ensures an easy eruption; on the first appearance of which, the child's father or guardian renews his worship to Bowannee; and as the animal this goddess rides on is an ass, it is customary for such parent or guardian to fill his lap with grain, which an ass is sent to eat up. These observances ensure the propitious direction of Bowannee, so that only a very few pustules make their appearance; nor does any one die under this process." Thus far did I learn from Alep Choby.

"Upon referring on this subject to a native, well versed in the learning and customs of the Hindoos, he told me that the practice thus described by Choby was not general among them, but confined to those who were attached to the worship of Bowannee, and adored her with implicit faith; and upon my asking the person whether he was aware how the matter of the pustule got from the cow, and whether all cows had such pustules, or only those of a certain description; he answered, that on these points he possessed no information, but had certainly understood that the cows

had these pustules break out on them, and that from the matter thereof children were infected; acknowledging, however, that he spoke not this much from ocular knowledge, but from report."

Mr. John Underwood, senior, a valuable friend and near relation of mine, who resided many years at Madras in a medical capacity, beloved and respected by his own countrymen for his hospitality and social virtues, and highly esteemed by all classes of the natives for his universal benevolence and professional abilities, frequently corresponded with SURFOJEE, *rajah of Tanjore*, a most amiable benevolent character, and particularly fond of studying anatomy. Mr. Underwood sent the rajah a body where the heart and every artery and vein were carefully injected with coloured wax. This preparation would give him a correct idea of the course of circulation, and the insertion of several muscles. The rajah was much gratified by a present which enabled him to pursue his studies with increased delight, and rendered him more useful in his sovereignty. The following letter, in acknowledgement of this valuable present, was written by the rajah to Mr. Underwood; which, in a Hindoo prince, indicates a mind unusually liberal and enlightened; sufficient to encourage a lively hope towards the advancement of literature, art, and science; extending ultimately, perhaps, to establish christianity in that part of Hindostan, where there are already several protestant churches; for Surfojee, rajah of Tanjore, was the friend and patron of Swartz, for near half a century the apostolical missionary of Coromandel; whose prudent zeal truly blended the wisdom of the serpent with the innocence of the dove. The Hindoo sovereign shed tears at the death of his venerable christian

friend, and covered his remains with a splendid pall of gold brocade. On the establishment of the *Native Hospital* at Madras, in 1799, under the immediate care of Mr. Underwood, senior, this benevolent sovereign sent two thousand pagodas, about eight hundred pounds sterling, to assist the institution.

Letter from Surfojee, Rajah of Tanjore, to John Underwood, Esq. at Fort St. George.

"I RECEIVED your letter some time ago; the contents of it have yielded me inexpressible pleasure. The box and the book alluded to in the letter have likewise been safely received.

"The human body, of which the origin appears to have been wrought by the Supreme Being himself, the frame of which is supposed to have afforded satisfaction even to its Maker, has been the chief object of my long imitation and inquiry. The books with which I have been conversant have spread before me but a faint light upon this topic; hence I need not say, that the preparation which you have sent to me, has afforded me the greatest pleasure, especially as I have long been desirous to see one of this kind: the receiving it so unexpectedly from you has redoubled my satisfaction. Upon examining every part of it, I found the muscles to be well preserved, and it is worthy of the inspection of every lover of philosophy.

"The book of anatomy which you have been so obliging as to send me, is also well calculated for the students to profit by. I request you will accept of my thousand thanks for the trouble you

have taken in forwarding me the above things, which are very useful and pleasing to

SURFOJEE, Rajah."

Tanjore, 5th July, 1806.

Not being myself sufficiently competent to elucidate the subject of medicine, as practised by the natives of India, I requested Mr. Underwood to give me some account of the general mode of treatment in that part of the world. In consequence of which he favoured me with the following statement, which I introduce with great satisfaction, from its filling up a desideratum I could not have supplied from my own knowledge. I am indebted for many remarks in these volumes on the state of medicine and music in India to writers of more experience and ability. I confess my ignorance in both these subjects, and have therefore availed myself of better information.

" It appears to Europeans that the natives of India are extremely ignorant in the practice of physic ; they have many remedies, chiefly roots and herbs, which are generally given in the form of powders. The practitioners are poor men of a particular caste, who sit by the side of the high roads and market paths, with small boxes, containing various kinds of powder, which is administered with particular instructions, and a promise of cure in a specific number of days. In all complaints they enforce abstinence, seldom allowing the patient any other nourishment than thin conjee, or rice gruel. In certain diseases they give cinnabar, occasionally with success; but the improper use of it frequently causes ulcerations to spread to a very great extent.

"The natives are extremely bigoted to their own remedies, which, without improvement or alteration, are handed down from father to son, through succeeding generations. They therefore seldom apply for the assistance of Europeans until the case appears hopeless from their own prescriptions. They do not bleed, nor perform any surgical operation, unless the removal of a part partially divided. All cases of fractures and dislocations are consigned to the potters; a caste of people abounding in Hindostan, for making the water-jars and cooking utensils of red clay, so universally used. The potter places the limb of his patient in what he considers the best situation, and then covers the part affected with moist clay; this when dry fixes the limb, and under such treatment simple and compound fractures often do well: but, as may be expected from this process, distortions and stiff joints are more frequently the consequence.

"For spasmodic affections the natives of India generally apply the juice of the milk-bush to the parts affected, which acts like a blister. In more serious cases they use the actual cautery; from this cause it is common to see horses, oxen, labouring men, especially palanquin-bearers, and porters of heavy burthens, marked in many places by a hot iron. Notwithstanding the liberal mind and singular propensity of the Tanjore sovereign, already mentioned, it cannot be expected that these medical practitioners should in general acquire any accurate knowledge of anatomy; and the heat of the climate operates powerfully against their possessing any extensive information from dissection. Much however may be acquired from preparations.

"Although I have no high opinion of the general mode of

practice among the natives, yet in a few instances I should give a preference to their remedies, particularly in the ophthalmia, or sore-eye of India. The inflammation frequently runs so high that the sight is destroyed, unless by some active means the affection, so deeply rooted, can be removed. This I think is best done by an early application of what is called at Madras the "*country remedy;*" which is a thin paste, made by burning a little alum on a hot iron, and mixing it with lime juice by a spatula into a paste. This is applied over both eye-lids, to the extent of the circle of the orbit, at going to rest, and washed off in the morning with a decoction of tamarind leaves. This I consider the best and most certain remedy for a disease that so repeatedly causes blindness; a surprising number of the natives are entirely blind, especially among the poor.

"I have often seen a Mahomedan practitioner perform the operation of removing a cataract. He made a small puncture with the point of a lancet, immediately behind the iris, into which he introduced a particular instrument, so guided as to depress the cataract. This operation I prefer to any other mode yet practised, as it occasions less injury to the eye."

The preceding appears to be a clear and brief statement of medical and surgical practice among the natives of Coromandel; and I believe the same system is generally, or nearly, adopted throughout Hindostan. When with the Mahratta army during Ragobah's campaign in Guzerat, I had frequent opportunities of knowing the high estimation in which the English physicians were held both by Hindoos and Mahomedans, when they thought themselves seriously ill, or wished to procure their advice even for their

females, whom, indeed, they were not often permitted to see; but formed their judgment of the disorder by feeling the patient's pulse with the arm admitted through a perforated curtain. It certainly would be no easy matter to persuade a brahmin to mingle Peruvian bark, or any other medicine, with wine or distilled spirits; but to take the drug in simple water, or compounded with any ingredients he was accustomed to, would not be attended with difficulty. As to the other castes, in general, provided they are persuaded the prescription is to effect a cure, or prove a stimulus, they wave the ceremony of being very particular in their inquiries.

Among some curiosities at Surat, I had an opportunity of seeing a few more of the zodiac rupees in good preservation, but could not meet with any for sale. When these singular coins occurred on a former occasion, I had not read Lord Valentia's travels, otherwise I might have acquired some light from a note in the appendix. In his journey from Calcutta to the northern districts, his Lordship only mentions having procured one of the zodiac mohurs at Benares, which were now so extremely rare, that it was impossible to purchase a complete set. In the note it is remarked, that the tradition of their having been coined by Noor Jehan, empress of Jehangheer, is discredited by the natives of science and research, who rather imagine that the emperor, on the celebration of his birth or reign, ordered medals to be struck, with the sign of the zodiac in which the sun was when such anniversary occurred; which his long reign, and the difference of solar and lunar years, would easily have allowed to pass throughout the whole number. Lord Valentia seems persuaded they were intended for medals, and not for a current coin. Some of them have this inscription;

"The face of gold received ornament in Agra,
"From Jehangheer Shah, the son of Akber."

I mentioned the great alteration which a few years had occasioned at Surat, and assigned the cause. I certainly observed a much greater variation in the society and manners at Bombay, without such apparent reason. A constant fluctuation by the removal of the civil and military servants from one settlement to another, the influx of strangers in a large sea-port town, with other local circumstances, always occasioned some change in society; but whether from an extension of the military establishment, a considerable increase in the female circle from Europe, or from what other cause I know not, there was a material alteration in the English character at the Presidency. Etiquette, ostentation, and formality, had too generally supplanted the urbanity, friendship, and conviviality, so delightful in former times. That this remark may not be thought invidious, I insert part of a letter written to me by a very discerning friend, about the same period, after an absence of seven years, in a retired part of Guzerat.

"I know your partiality for Bombay, but in my opinion it is no longer the same place as when I last resided here. I allow that the little Presidency is become very gay and lively, and I have passed a few weeks here with much satisfaction; but at all the pleasures and entertainments, I could not prevent the thought from intruding itself, that the high polish had debased the material, and you too plainly see all the more valuable ties of friendship and affection, sacrificed to an ostentatious vanity, which aukwardly endeavours to assume their semblance. It has its merits, and

renders society polite and agreeable; but, alas! how insipid, how different from that intercourse of mind, that confidential exchange of sentiment, so pleasing in those who really esteem and regard each other. But this is the error of the community, not the individual; and on your arrival you will find most of your friends there the same worthy characters you left them. I suppose it will not be long before you and yours are among them; for this Mahratta peace is a sad stroke to the service on this side of India. Happy those who, expelled from their honourable and delightful situations in Guzerat, are able to return to their native country, blessed with health and independence. Dalton and yourself have wisely made up your minds to quit India, and accompany your amiable sister on the voyage her health has long impelled her to undertake. I most sincerely wish I could make one of the party, but my concerns are too extensive, and my fortune insufficient. However we might have been prepared to expect the cession of the conquered districts to the Peshwa government, the giving up Baroche and its valuable purgunna to Mhadajee Sindia, is a death-blow to our hopes in Guzerat, and the whole a sad purchase for an inglorious peace. However I may, as an individual, reconcile it to my own particular case, I am greatly concerned for the younger part of the service in general, who will feel the consequences of it longer perhaps than they are aware of, unless we can acquire some permanent establishments in Malabar, in the present contest with Tippoo Sultaun, in which I confess I am not very sanguine.

"The volumes of manuscripts and drawings you lent me have afforded me the greatest amusement, and I can assure you it was with regret I finished the last page of your descriptive letters.

You must pardon me for transgressing your commands respecting the perusal of the early part of your correspondence. I confess I wished to know your juvenile sentiments, as well as to behold the juvenile efforts of your pencil; and without flattery (to which you well know I am not addicted) I may venture to say they need no apology: but I am of opinion that both by your descriptions and drawings, you have so beautified this side of India that I hardly know it again. And now, surprised into a belief that these things are really so, I only wonder I did not find it before. The fact perhaps may be, that I have wanted observation; or, as Lord Chesterfield says, "I have looked without seeing." I believe however that you have licence, in the double capacity of poet and painter."

Had Bombay retained all its former hospitality and urbanity, the influx of so large a proportion of civil servants from the northern settlements in Guzerat, without employment or suitable maintenance, was a very unpleasant reflection. The military, as already noticed, were ordered to other garrisons, and suffered no pecuniary hardship. It was very different with the civilians; to them the Presidency offered neither pleasure, profit, nor usefulness; nor was there any provision for them at the southern subordinates. Our hopes in India being thus extinguished, we looked forwards to England; where, withdrawn from the fatigue and anxiety of camps and senates, from pageantry and ostentation, into the bosom of family and domestic comforts, we might pass the remainder of our days in rural tranquillity, enjoying the supreme delights of a peaceful mind, and a conscience void of offence.

"Toss'd through tempestuous seas, the voyage o'er,
"Pale, we look back, and bless the trembling shore?"

We found the population of Bombay very much increased, and constantly increasing. The troubles on the continent had compelled many to seek an asylum from the calamities of war; personal security and protection of property, under the British flag, was another great inducement; while a flourishing commerce and many other causes allured a number of merchants to leave their fluctuating situations in other places, for a more permanent settlement on this little rocky island; which to the higher tribes of Hindoos has some peculiar inconveniences, and to the lower classes of every description, must be far more expensive than any part of the continent.

The price of most kinds of provisions was nearly doubled since I first knew Bombay; but there appeared no deficiency either of European or Indian commodities. The shops in the bazar were well stored with articles for luxury and comfort from all parts of the world; and every breeze wafted a fresh supply. But if private expenses were thus increased, great indeed was the accumulation of public expenditure since my arrival in India, and still more so since my departure. According to Lord Valentia's estimate in 1804, the monthly outgoings of Bombay amounted to fifteen lacs of rupees, making one hundred and eighty lacs, or upwards of two millions two hundred thousand pounds sterling per annum; although its whole annual revenue, including the late cessions in Guzerat, did not exceed forty lacs, or five hundred thousand pounds.

The island of Bombay should now no longer be considered as a settlement, or separate colony, but as the metropolis (surrounded indeed by a large moat) of an extensive domain. For this island, only twenty miles in circumference, and almost covered with houses and gardens, will soon become a city, similar to the outer towns of Surat and Ahmedabad; smaller indeed by eight miles in its circumference than the latter in the zenith of her glory, and much less than London at this present day.

I am sorry to add, that as the Indian population of Bombay increased, there was among the natives a proportionate increase of crimes and punishment. This it may be alleged is a general hypothesis, and a necessary consequence of increased population in every country: there certainly are exceptions:—but wishing to be impartial, and on all occasions to draw a true portrait of the Indian character, I cannot avoid adverting once more to the assertions in some late publications respecting Indian morality in general, and to the virtues ascribed to the servants in particular. One respectable writer has thought proper to place the native servants in a very superior point of view, to the same class of society in England. I cannot subscribe to such general eulogy: with heartfelt pleasure I have mentioned the fidelity and attachment of our own family servants, and introduced several of their letters, received since our arrival in England; yet I can neither coincide in the preference given to the Asiatic over the British character, nor can I sanction the circulation of such an opinion. On the contrary it is well known, that notwithstanding the preference given by the inhabitants of Baroche to the British government, and their affecting exclamation on the tears of Heaven at our departure, that from

Lullabhy, the great mozumdar of that purgunna, and extending in a greater or lesser degree from him through the revenue department and other civil appointments, self-interest, ingratitude, and fraud, prevailed among the native officers, with the exception of Dowlut Roy, Dessoy, and a few other amiable characters. These evil propensities prevailed not only among those classes, but broke out into a spirit of mutiny and desertion among the sepoy corps; with deceit, peculation, and robbery, in the lower orders of society, reaching to the Baroche servants employed in our family, who were not to accompany us to Bombay. The head gardener, assisted by his labourers, contrived to carry off a heavy iron chest of plate, and to conceal it in the steep banks of the Nerbudda, as mentioned on a former occasion. After my departure from Dhuboy, during the short interval I continued at Baroche, the English commanding officer at Dhuboy sent me constant and grievous complaints of the native troops employed in those districts. At Baroche some were blown from the cannon's mouth for mutiny and desertion: and such was the general depravity previous to our departure, that it was no longer safe to remain at our garden-house. Here I must beg leave to insert the copy of an authentic letter in my possession, which strongly marks the character of the Indian sepoys, in a different part of the Company's possessions, and shews the necessity of vigilance, discipline, and discretion, with a corps necessarily employed in immense numbers, under our government. The letter was written to a friend, by an officer who had accepted a command under an Asiatic prince.

"I WAS yesterday not a little surprised to be solicited by several Bengal sepoys to give them employ. Upon inquiry I found, to

my utter astonishment, they were all deserters, lately arrived from Bengal, with their arms and accoutrements complete. Upwards of fifty are already come, and they expect more to join them very shortly. It is natural to suppose that some persons are employed from hence to entice them from their colours; nor shall I be surprised to see whole battalions following their example. At this rate the Mahrattas will have very little occasion to purchase European firelocks from any other nation, when they are so well supplied by your own people; in this respect they may bid you defiance in case of any future rupture; for to my certain knowledge they have now upwards of seventy thousand stand of English arms in different depôts, belonging to the sircar. The war with Tippoo may render many useless on both sides, which is some satisfaction; for as to the loss of the sepoys I esteem it nothing, as I know the Purveea caste are the most mutinous and cowardly fellows in India, having had sufficient demonstration of them when ordered for Madras. Many plans might be adopted to entice them again into the company's service; and when once in your possession, you may secure the arms, and discharge the scoundrels with infamy, or even a more severe punishment."

I have introduced this letter and stated the preceding circumstances, from a necessity of establishing facts, instead of making assertions, where the moral character of the two nations is brought into competition; and the conclusion intended to be drawn is evidently to evince that the moral and religious tendency of Christianity is not superior to the code of Menu, or the laws of the Koran.

I have on another occasion mentioned Sir James Mackintosh's

charge to the grand jury at Bombay, where he introduces Sir William Jones's opinion of Indian depravity; another part of the same charge from this excellent judge more than confirms all that I have said on this unpleasant subject: "The difference of language and manners, and perhaps the hostile prejudices of many of the natives, render the detection of crimes, and increase the chances of total concealment in a proportion which we cannot exactly calculate, but which we know to be very great; much of what passes amongst the lowest natives must be involved in a darkness impenetrable to the eyes of the most vigilant police. After the existence of a crime is ascertained the same obstacles stand in the way of identifying the criminal; and even after he is perfectly known, our local situation, which is that of a large town in a small territory, is that which an experienced offender would select for the opportunity of concealment, and the facility of escape; and such is the unfortunate prevalence of the crime of perjury, that the hope of impunity is not extinguished by the apprehension of the delinquent; if to this you add the supine acquiescence of many English inhabitants in the peculations of their domestic servants, which, from an opinion of the *rooted depravity of the natives, we seem to look upon as if their vices were immutable and inflexible,* like the laws of nature. And if you add also those summary chastisements, which are, in my opinion, almost always useless as examples, you will not wonder that I do not consider the records of the criminal court as a measure of the guilt of the community. Indeed the universal testimony of Europeans, however much I may suspect occasional and partial exaggeration, is an authority too strong for me to struggle with."

After a variety of sound reasoning and good policy, this excellent recorder thus closes his charge;—a charge which bears a true testimony to the British character in India, opposed to all the efforts of senatorial eloquence to prove the contrary.

"I am convinced, that both as jurors and as private gentlemen, you will always consider yourselves as intrusted, in this remote region of the earth, with the honour of that beloved country, which I trust becomes more dear to you, as I am sure it does to me, during every new moment of absence; that in your intercourse with each other, as well as with the natives of India, you will keep unspotted the ancient character of the British nation, renowned in every age, and in no age more than in the present, for valour, for justice, for humanity and generosity, for every virtue which supports, as well as for every talent and accomplishment which adorns, human society!"

Mr. Gambier, the former chief of Baroche, having completed his fortune, took his passage for England in the same ship with myself. His successor, Mr. Nalsey, who enjoyed that situation little more than a year, and had it not in his power to leave India, was, on his return from Baroche, appointed chief of Salsette. After being settled at Tannah, he invited a party of his Baroche friends to the durbar, where we were hospitably entertained for some days, and passed our time as happily as a retrospection of evanescent pleasures in Guzerat, and the idea of a speedy separation, would allow. Tannah, the capital of Salsette, had then become a flourishing town; the fortifications had been repaired, the Mahratta houses improved or rebuilt by the English gentlemen, and the durbar rendered a commodious residence.

From Tannah we made a pleasant excursion, in palanquins, to the inland mountains, to revisit the excavated temples and singular habitations, formerly described ; and on our returning voyage from Tannah to Bombay, took a last view of the far-famed caverns on the island of Elephanta—scenes which always fill the mind with renewed astonishment, followed by a train of ideas unknown in other situations. Having formerly described these wonderful excavations, I shall not proceed again on the same ground ; but as the Hindoo Pantheon illustrates some objects in those gloomy regions, on which it was not then in my power to throw sufficient light, I shall on this farewell visit introduce two or three satisfactory remarks from that valuable work, which coincides in opinion with almost every intelligent person I conversed with on the spot, that the Elephanta was not always a small island of only five or six miles in circumference, but was formerly joined to the contiguous islands, and to the continent ; from which it is now disjoined by a channel more than a mile in breadth." In the spacious harbour formed by the islands of Caranjah, Colaba, Bombay, Salsette, and the continent, several smaller rocky islands are scattered, bearing of course different names; but which I deem formerly to have been only one, and probably under one designation ; which might well have been that still retained by Bombay, or by Elephanta, or by a little island, close to the latter, that we call Butcher's Island. Its Hindoo name is *Deva-devy*, the island of the gods, or Holy Island. It is low ; less than a mile I think from the Elephanta, in the direction of Salsette. The island of Bombay is called by the brahmins *Maha-maha-devy*, or *Maha-maha-deva*. Mâha is an epithet of grandeur, and, as applied to a person, of pre-eminence.

Maha-maha-deva-devy may, therefore, be interpreted the island of Mahadeva, or the Great-great God, or Siva; that deity being principally honoured in its chief temple, now on the little island of Elephanta, where monstrous lingas, evidently and necessarily coeval with the excavation, and gigantic statues of him and his consort, indicate his paramount adoration." *Gharipuri*, or the city of caves, is the name by which the natives identify the Elephanta.

Not to enter into any new detail of the Hindoo mythology, it must strike every common observer, that the representation of Siva under different forms is the most striking feature in the temples of the Elephanta, and so far confirms Major Moor's idea beforementioned. " Siva and Jove," he observes, " have been compared by Sir William Jones and other mythologists; but no where is Jove seen combined with his spouse, or any female, as Siva is, in pictures and sculptures, with Parvati. Jove is however sometimes called mother as well as father. The following verse might warrant such a combination in the creative eye of a painter:

> " Jupiter omnipotens, rerum, regumque, deumque,
> " Progenitor, genetrixque."
>
> " Almighty Jove; father and mother, both
> " Of gods, and men, and things." Letters on Mythology.

And in some of their multifarious characters most of the Hindoo deities might be identified with Jove or Jupiter; where, in the poetical language of the world, he is called Saturn's youngest child; that is, the latest production of Time.

" The comparison between Siva and Jove runs parallel in many instances. In the capacity of avenger and destroyer, Jove over-

threw the Titans and giants, whom Typhon, Briareus, &c. led against the god of Olympus, to whom an eagle brought lightning and thunder-bolts during the warfare. In a similar contest between Siva and the Daityas, or children of Diti, who frequently rebelled against heaven, Brahma is said to have presented the god of destruction with fiery shafts. As the Olympian Jupiter fixed his court, and held his councils on a lofty and brilliant mountain, so the appropriated seat of Mahadeva, whom the Saivas consider as the chief of the deities, is Mount Cailasa; every splinter of whose rocks is an inestimable gem. His terrestrial bounds are on the snowy hills of Himilaya, or that branch of them to the east of the Brahmaputra, which has the name of Chandrasichara, or the mountains of the moon. When, after these circumstances, we find Siva with three eyes, whence he is named Trilochan; and know from Pausanias, not only that Triopthalmos was an epithet of Zeus, but that a statue of him had been found, so early as the taking of Troy, with a third eye in his forehead, as we see him represented by the Hindoos, we must conclude that the identity of the two gods falls little short of being demonstrated.

" In the character of *destroyer* also, we may look upon this Indian deity as corresponding with the Stygian Jove, or Pluto; especially since Cali, or Time, in the feminine gender, is a name of his consort, who will be found to be Proserpine.

" There is yet another attribute of Mahadeva, by which he is too visibly distinguished in the drawings and temples of Bengal. To destroy, according to the Vedantis of India, the Sufis of Persia, and many philosophers of our European schools, is only to generate and reproduce in another form. Hence the god of destruc-

tion presides over generation; as a symbol of which he rides on a white bull. Can we doubt that the loves and feasts of Jupiter Genitor, (not forgetting the white bull of Europa) and his extraordinary title of Lapis, for which no satisfactory reason is commonly given, have a connection with the Indian philosophy and mythology?

"Obelisks and pillars, of whatever shape, are symbols of Mahadeva; as are more especially pyramids, and any thing conical. Hence the custard-apple, or ramphul, as lately mentioned in the gardens at Surat, from its conical form, takes a religious character, and is appropriated to Siva. Mahadeva is Fire; the conical or pyramidal shape is the natural form of fire; hence applied to its representative, and symbolized by a triangle apex upwards.

"To Siva is given three eyes, probably to denote his view of the three divisions of time, the past, the present, and the future. A crescent on his forehead pourtrays the measure of time by the phases of the moon. A serpent forms a necklace, to denote the measure of time by years. A second necklace, formed of human skulls, marks the lapse and revolution of ages, and the extinction and succession of the generations of mankind. He holds a trident, to shew that the three great attributes are in him assembled and united; in another hand is a kind of rattle, called damaru, shaped like an hour-glass; and I am inclined to think it really was at first intended as such, since it agrees with the character of the deity; and a sand gheri is mentioned in the Sastra, as one of the modes of measuring time. In the hieroglyphic of Maha Pralaya, or grand consummation of all things, when Time itself shall be no

more, he is represented as trodden under foot by Maha Cal, or Eternity."

In these extracts many things bear a resemblance to prominent features in the history of the Old Testament. They must be obvious to a common observer, and, like similar passages in the Egyptian and Grecian mythology, might no doubt be satisfactorily traced to that primeval source; but I shall close these remarks with an account of that singular composition, formerly most absurdly called the Judgment of Solomon, which contains the figure and appropriate emblems of Siva. This compartment, from being in a strong light, is very conspicuous in the Elephanta temple, and seems more than any other to have engaged the attention of travellers. Major Moor thus happily illustrates it, with an apparent truth and precision which seems to leave no further room for conjecture.

The compartment containing the group, in which Siva, in the character of Maha Cala, or Eternity, makes the principal figure, is on the right of the entrance in the Elephanta temple. "It is of Siva Vindex, fourteen feet high, but his lower extremities broken off. His attention is, from his attitude, turned to his left. His aspect is terrific, indicating the immediate execution of some avenging act. He had eight arms; the superior right and left stretched up, and either supporting a cloth or curtain, or pulling it over the terrible event he threatens; the fingers grasp the cloth; the left upstretched arm is finely executed, the right broken at the elbow; his next right hand is broken at the wrist; the corresponding left holds a bell, in good preservation, over a cup in the palm

of the next, having a serpent twining round near the elbow. A third right hand grasps a long straight sword, uplifted, perfect; the two inferior hands, right and left are. broken off above the elbow; they were in bolder relief, and the left appears to have supported, or to have grasped the leg of a kneeling figure, the trunk of which only remains, its legs, arms, and head being broken off. This kneeling figure may have been between five and six feet in height; its back is towards the threatener, and leaning so in his direction as to drop its blood, if spilled, into the cup before noticed. The head of the principal figure has a highly ornamented cap, not unlike those worn some years ago by grenadiers: a skull and serpent are among its frontal ornaments. It has also a pendant necklace, and a long chaplet, if it may be so called, composed of human heads, of which only two or three are plainly discernible, flowing over the left shoulder to the right thigh, where it is broken off. The zennaar, or holy thread, and a broader belt, run in nearly the same direction. On all the wrists are bracelets, and above the elbow of three of the arms are bazubands, or armlets. No figures remain in any preservation to the right of the principal, or under him. On the left, near the supposed victim, are two bearded faces, expressive of pity. A compassionate female is just above them, leaning forward over the victim; she holds her scarf in her hands, and is an elegant person. Below the bearded men are two or three females, with pitying aspects. The same emotion intermingled with terror, is evident in every face of this compartment, whose features can be traced.

" Over the subjects just described is a row of males and females, of rather diminutive size: in the middle of the row,

nearly over the head of Siva, is a thing like a mitre, with a crozier cut deep into it, and surmounted with a cross; but the limbs of the cross not exactly at right angles. Two aged and emaciated males are on the right (the spectator's right) of the mitre, holding up their hands, betokening pity and pain; on the other side of the mitre are two similar figures. In front of each pair is a prostrate distressed male child, their heads near the mitre; beyond the last mentioned pair, on the spectator's left, are a male and female in great anxiety and distress, holding scarfs in their hands.

" Near this compartment, but advanced into the body of the cave, so as not to be interposed, is a room, twenty-two feet square, with a door in each face; and on each side the door a gigantic male figure, in stature sixteen feet, highly ornamented; this room contains a monstrous linga, plainly indicating for whose worship this temple was intended. But neither this, nor any other part of the caves of Elephanta, is used as a temple, by modern Hindoos; it has no establishment of brahmins, or endowments: but neighbouring individuals make occasional offerings of prayers and oblations. I have seen the lingas adorned with recent flowers; and rice on the yoni at the foot of it. Brahmins generally disregard imperfect images; the sad mutilations at Elephanta may well, therefore, have caused their neglect of it.

" It has been said in support of some hypothesis, that the Vedas and Puranas, the sacred books of the Hindoo, make no mention of this cavern temple. But who has sufficiently examined those wonderful volumes to be enabled to say so? Several of our Sanscrit scholars have given us many surprising things that they do contain; but a knowledge of what they do not contain, or,

in other words, of all that they do, will demand many more years of laborious examination. " Wherever we direct our attention to Hindoo literature," said Sir William Jones, " the notion of infinity presents itself; and the longest life would not be sufficient for the perusal of near five hundred thousand stanzas in the Puranas, with a million more perhaps, in other works; meaning the books on divine knowledge, called *veda*, or what is known; and *sruti*, or what has been heard from revelation.

" The island of Salsette is, by the natives, called Shasta, or Shaster; which is supposed to be derived from She-aster; meaning in Mahraty, eighty-six, it having formerly contained that number of villages; it must, however, have had a name prior to such an advance of prosperity; and it is worth while to inquire what it was, and its meaning; neither is it likely that such a point would supersede any prior name, any more than originally give one. This fine and interesting island offers a rich harvest to mineralogical, botanical, and mythological inquiries; until lately, it has, in these, and in every other respect of policy and interest, been sadly neglected."

The climate of Salsette is not reckoned so salubrious as Bombay; many causes are assigned, especially the quantity of jungle, or wood-land, still remaining uncleared; to which may be added the stagnant pools and marshes of rank vegetation, besides very extensive tracts of land yet uncultivated. When the underwood is cleared, the marshes drained, and agriculture encouraged, there can be no doubt of their effects in meliorating the atmosphere. The jungle, or marsh-fever, is more common at Salsette than Bombay: the young cadets sent over, on their first arrival from Europe, to

Versovah and other places on this island, frequently suffer much from their deleterious effects.

During the whole of my residence in India, I never had a more alarming fever, than I was formerly seized with in the principal cave at Salsette, when I had been travelling two days in a palanquin, through the lower parts of the island, after the rainy season; before the vapours were sufficiently exhaled from the stagnant marshes and putrid vegetables on their borders. I therefore doubly enjoyed the interest and beauty of this wonderful scenery on the present occasion, when blessed with health, and surrounded by a social party of both sexes, sharing in every pleasure. At the same time I would observe, that after sufficiently reposing in the great temple, a pensive stroll among these solitary and silent mountains, is preferable for a stranger: he should leave the companions of his journey for an hour, to enjoy alone the peculiar sensations, on beholding a city not built by man, but excavated from the rocks; immense temples not erected by human hands, but hewn inch by inch within a mountain of granite, in the most exact proportion. Adorned with elegant and lofty pillars, seemingly to support a noble concave roof. The temple indeed contains only an amazing lingam, but in its magnificent portico stand the gigantic images of Boodha, or some great deity, with compartments in basso relievo, of various subjects in the Hindoo mythology. He ascends from thence, by numerous steps cut in the rock leading from one range of habitations to another, excavated in the same manner, with verandas, cisterns, and other conveniences for a large population: he treads the whole in silence, and meets no other inhabitant than birds, bats, and bees; unless, perchance,

(as has sometimes happened), he spies a tiger, who after his nightly prowl has retired to one of these dark recesses to conceal himself from the glare of day. From the summit of the highest mountain he enjoys the extensive prospect of sea and land formerly described; and finds himself lost in contemplative wonder at the inadequateness of sublunary operations, and the vanity of all human structures; since, in this astonishing scene, not even the name of the founder, nor the intent of his undertaking, is known to a single individual now existing!

In contemplating the extensive and delightful prospect from the excavated mountain, and especially the gentler hills and expanded vallies in the centre of the island, still in their wild state, it appeared extraordinary that during the ten years Salsette had then belonged to the Company, cultivation was not more advanced. I believe its improvement has been since more attended to, and the growth of sugar, indigo, and other lucrative productions attempted; with what success I cannot ascertain. At all events Indian grain, in its great variety, would, according to the nature of the soil and situation, be sure to thrive, and, considering the immense population of Bombay, must there always meet with a ready market. It was then I again adverted to the Parsees; a people, who, if properly encouraged, might form a valuable colony on Salsette. From the energy and spirit they possess in so superior a degree to the Hindoos, (who only tread in the footsteps of their progenitors, without even a wish for improvement) much might be expected, not only in cultivating the waste land, but by the introduction of the useful arts, manufactures, and commerce. They are a very multiplying people, and must in

time extend themselves beyond the island of Bombay, and the precincts of Surat and Baroche, which are at present almost the only places where they reside in any considerable number. Instead of emigrating to foreign powers, and distant situations, this industrious tribe would form a flourishing colony nearer home, carrying with them arts and manufactures of various kinds. As carpenters, in house and ship building, they are extremely expert; especially the latter, and to them the naval architecture at Surat and Bombay is chiefly confined. If thus induced to settle on Salsette, indulged with temples for their sacred fire, open sepulchres for their dead, farms, manufactories, and cottages for the middle and lower classes, and gardens and villas for the opulent, I cannot easily conceive a better or a happier colony.

Few people more justly appreciate the blessings of liberty and property than the Parsees; they enjoy the envied bliss, and contrast it with the oppressive governments around them. When last at Bombay, I frequently conversed with Muncher Jevan, and other sensible Parsees. Unshackled by the religious prejudices and superstitious deprivations of the Hindoos and Mahomedans, and possessing more useful knowledge and liberal sentiments than either, I was highly gratified by their opinion on subjects in general history, politics, and religion. Their reasoning on the separation of the American colonies and the ruinous war then just terminated, on the blended and separate interests of the King's and Company's governments in India, and the diversity of religious opinions and modes of worship in the Christian church, were I to detail them would surprise many European readers.

The Parsees at Bombay possess considerable landed property,

and have either built, or purchased from the English on their return to Europe, some of the best villas and gardens on the island. At my last visit I had been absent seven years, during which they had made great advances in wealth and independence, lived in some of the prettiest country houses, and drove thither in elegant carriages of English construction. I am informed their progress in the last twenty years has been still more rapid.

This party to Salsette, Elephanta, and Caranjah, was the last of my excursions in India. On parting in the durbar at Tannah, many of us took a final leave of each other—that was to have been expected. Several of us had resided together in Guzerat, occupied in the respective duties of public and private life; our destiny was now widely different—separated by an immense distance of sea and land, the pleasures and the pains of memory were to become a substitute for friendly concord and social harmony. When friends take a long leave of each other, they endure a pang, well known to minds of sensibility, which language cannot utter. Twenty-eight years are now elapsed since the separation alluded to: the sensations were renewed within a few weeks on our final departure from Bombay!

——————"Behold, fond man!
"See here thy pictur'd life!—Pass some few years,
"Thy flowering Spring—thy Summer's ardent strength,
"Thy sober Autumn fading into age—
"And pale concluding Winter comes at last,
"And shuts the scene. Ah! whither now are fled
"Those dreams of greatness? those unsolid hopes
"Of happiness? those longings after fame?
"Those restless cares? those busy bustling days?

" Those gay-spent festive nights? those veering thoughts
" Lost between good and ill, that shar'd thy life?
" All now are vanish'd! VIRTUE sole survives,
" Immortal, never-failing friend of man,
" His guide to happiness on high!" THOMSON.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

COMMENCEMENT OF A JOURNEY FROM SURAT TO CALCUTTA; CONTAINING THE PRINCIPAL OCCURRENCES IN THE PROVINCES OF GUZERAT AND MALWA, BETWEEN SURAT AND OOJEN, IN 1785.

"It was a frequent saying of Alexander, that he had discovered more by his eyes than other kings could comprehend in their thoughts. In this he referred to travel: experience is the best informer, and one journey will shew us more than any description can. A man, to improve himself by travel, ought to observe and comment on what he sees; noting as well the bad to avoid, as the good to make use of it: and without registering these things by the pen, they will pass away without profiting him. The committing of a thought to paper fixes it on the mind; he who does this, can, when he pleases, go over his journey again in his closet." OWEN FELLTHAM. 1628.

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The author desirous of travelling to Powa Ghur, and the confines of Malwa, prevented by his official duties—avails himself of every opportunity to gain information of those districts—becomes possessed of Mr. Cruso's papers containing the particulars of a journey from Surat to Calcutta, with Sir Charles Malet—which, amplified and corrected by that gentleman, form the most interesting part of this and the following chapters—cause of the embassy, and Sir Charles Malet's appointment by the supreme government of Bengal—public papers relative to the embassy—the gentleman who accompanied Sir Charles—arrival at Surat from Bombay—departure from Surat for Baroche—arrival there—dancing-girls—a bé-ropee, or buffoon—dilapidations of Bowran—melancholy picture of Vezelpoor and the English garden-houses in that village—reflections and verses on reading these remarks—ingratitude of some of the higher orders at Baroche towards the English—Tuckarea—Borahs—rajah Ramul Sihng oppressed by Futty Sihng—Gracias—fertility and beauty of the Brodera purgunna—arrival at Brodera—reception and visit from Futty Sihng—ceremonies at this visit—presents—dress of Futty Sihng and his brother—the visit returned at the Brodera durbar—palace described—particulars of the visit—leave the Guicwār dominions, and enter those of Mhadajee Sindia—Jarode, Halool—Powa-Ghur, that fortress described—Champoneer formerly the capital of Guzerat—romantic country near Malow—

Belah fruit—intestine broils in that wild district—lofty hills—Barreah—visit from the rajah—the visit returned—pleasant character of the Barreah rajah—continuation of wild country—infested by robbers—alarm—precautions—design frustrated—Dohud—escort from the Jaboo rajah through this perilous tract—visit from this rajah—Pitlabad—cross the Myhi—character of the country near that river—its borderers notorious robbers—Rajoud—sources of the Myhi and Cotó-ser rivers—Churruns, a very singular tribe described—robbery at the tents—Noulai—the opposite direction of the rivers in this part of Hindostan—produce of the country—poppies—manner of extracting the opium—aul tree—province of Malwa proverbially fertile and well watered—singular mud villages—arrival at Oojen.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

In travelling through Guzerat I occasionally mentioned the lofty mountain of Powa-Ghur, and the majestic scenery in its vicinity, as forming one of the grandest features in that province, especially when seen from the ramparts of Dhuboy. I was always desirous of exploring those romantic regions, the falls of the Nerbudda, and some other interesting spots in the north-east parts of Guzerat. With the conveniences for travelling in England this might have been easily accomplished; but it is far otherwise in Hindostan, where a journey of only fifty miles requires much consideration and arrangement.

My public duties as a member of council at Baroche, and collector of the revenues at Dhuboy, situations of responsibility and anxiety, kept me fully employed; and being thus deprived of an opportunity to accomplish my wishes, I endeavoured to gain every intelligence of those districts from the yogees, senassees, and other travelling mendicants, who frequented Dhuboy. They made some valuable communications, not indeed always such as I could depend upon; for these wandering devotees, (who, except the Vanjarras with their bullock caravans, are almost the only travellers in Hindostan), generally exaggerate in their descriptions,

and blend a strange mixture of legendary lore with topographical history.

I had transcribed some hundred pages from those memoranda, and other documents, to illustrate the countries bordering on the Dhuboy and Brodera purgunnas; especially in the dominions of Mhadajee Sindia, which I intended should follow the account of the Guzerat districts entrusted to my care; but the papers of a deceased friend having since come into my possession, afford such ample scope for a more complete description of those interesting tracts, that I shall suppress much of my own collection, to introduce a journey from Surat to Calcutta, written in the year 1785, when Mr. Cruso, in his medical capacity, accompanied Sir Charles Malet to the camp of Mhadajee Sindia, through provinces little frequented by Europeans, and some of them never yet described: this route was purposely selected by Sir Charles, to improve and extend our knowledge of so interesting a part of India.

From my own materials, the rough journal of Mr. Cruso, and the kind assistance of Sir Charles Malet in supervising, improveing, and amplifying many passages from his own manuscripts, I am enabled to produce a narrative of novelty and interest far superior to the desultory observations contained in two or three of my letters, descriptive of the Malwa scenery, and its inhabitants. As the whole is now formed into one connected detail, it is unnecessary to particularise each respective source of information. Mr. Cruso's journal has furnished the outline and principal features of the picture, the more masterly touches are by the hand just mentioned.

Mr. Malet (now Sir Charles Warre Malet, Bart.) was appointed

by Warren Hastings, Esq. then governor-general of India, resident at the court of Poona, in the following terms of a letter from the supreme government at Bengal, to the governor in council of Bombay, dated the 23d of November 1784.

"For the maintenance of the general interests of the Company with the Mahratta state, we make it our request that you will be pleased to allow us to employ the services of Mr. Malet as our minister at the court of Poona; considering him, from his relation to your government, and from that which such an appointment will give him to this, the fittest for such a purpose." Alluding no doubt, not only to his political knowledge, but from his being perfectly conversant with the languages and manners of Hindostan. The following extract from the same letter will explain the cause of this long and arduous journey.

"In order that Mr. Malet may receive complete instructions in the general line of his negociations, and be enabled to establish a concerted plan of correspondence with our minister at the court of Mhadajee Sindia, for the purpose of avoiding both an opposition of influence, and also the appearance of it, in our transactions with two powers, to which we bear a common relation, as to the members of the same state, but whose respective interests and views may occasionally lead them to different lines of policy, in which, without such a caution, our ministers might be involved; we request that you will depute Mr. Malet to go immediately to the camp of Mhadajee Sindia, at Agra, as on his way to Calcutta; and with actual orders to proceed to this presidency, if it shall be judged necessary for his more effectual instruc-

tions, or otherwise, to receive his appointment and credentials there. It is not probable that we shall require Mr. Malet's presence here; but we would wish to have it publicly understood as his destination; and his visit to Mhadajee Sindia as a consequence of its lying in his route, to prevent any conclusion unfavourable to his reception at Poona."

These orders having reached Bombay in the beginning of January 1785, Sir Charles Malet lost no time in carrying the views, and if possible more than the views, of government into effect: thus actuated, he procured captain (now general) Reynolds, to be appointed to accompany him as surveyor, and Mr. Cruso as surgeon, both recommended by talent, promising every advantage in their respective lines. The surveys of the former, and the memoirs of the latter, from whence great part of the following communications have been collected, will best evince how that promise has been fulfilled.

In consequence of this appointment by the supreme government, Sir Charles Malet received the orders of the governor in council at Bombay on the 24th of January, 1785, to carry it into effect, by proceeding to Surat, and from thence to the camp of of Mhadajee Sindia, wherever it might be. He accordingly sailed in the Prime, one of the Company's ships, on the 28th of that month, and reached the city of Surat on the 2d of February; where having been detained, by waiting for the requisite passports from the different princes whose territories he had to traverse, and by the preparations necessary for so long a journey, in a conspicuous public character, he was not able to proceed until the 12th of March; when he moved from Surat, amply equipped, in every

point, to give an impression of respect for his nation and government, to those tribes and chieftains, hitherto unacquainted with Europeans, through whose dominions, then but little known, and entirely undescribed, he had purposely selected his route. The guard appointed to accompany him consisted of one complete company of regular native infantry, twenty-six Indian cavalry, and thirty-five irregular sepoys.

Mr. Cruso's account of Surat, Baroche, and other places in Guzerat, generally corresponding with those formerly detailed in these volumes, I shall pass hastily over. On leaving Surat, they crossed the Tappee river at Veriow, and proceeding on the 15th by the usual road to the banks of the Nerbudda, they arrived at Baroche on the 17th, nearly two years after it had been in possession of Mhadajee Sindia. On crossing the Nerbudda their tents were pitched at a little distance from the city walls. Sir Charles was soon after visited by Gopal Rao, Sindia's governor; the dessoy, or collector of the revenues; and several other persons, who formerly held situations under the English government.

In the evening, while the gentlemen were amusing themselves, as was their practice, in shooting at a target with bows and arrows, two or three sets of dancing-girls intruded, and urgently solicited permission to dance and sing: to gratify their wishes, rather than their own pleasure, they acquiesced, and ordering carpets, sat down on the banks of the river, and entertained several hundred persons assembled round them. The scene was agreeably varied by an elderly man, whose vocation was that of assuming different gestures and characters for the general entertainment. This kind of dramatist is by the natives called *bé-roopee*, or double-

shaped (a mimic, or buffoon). This man, personating a fakeer, repeated a number of verses on the passion of love with singular address, and that alternate motion of the right and left hand generally adopted by orators.

The next morning the party visited the dilapidated mausoleum of Baba Rahan, or Bowran, hastening fast to ruin. Returning from thence, they alighted at the village of Vezelpore, about a mile to the westward of Baroche, formerly adorned by the houses and gardens of several English gentlemen, then belonging to that establishment, most delightfully situated near the bank of the Nerbudda: they were now totally neglected, uninhabited, and desolate; still indicating the remains of beauty in mutilated columns, urns, and other ornaments, which filled their minds with melancholy. Baroche was always esteemed one of the most flourishing and delightful settlements under the Bombay presidency; at this time Mhadajee Sindia only permitted the Company to have a small factory in the city, in charge of one of their civil servants. The higher classes of Hindoos, from religious prejudice, are averse to dwell in houses that have been inhabited by Europeans; those of the lower orders, and of other castes, dare not occupy mansions which, by giving an idea of wealth, might subject them to the cruel rapacity of the Mahratta government; nor could any individuals, either Hindoos, Mahomedans, or Parsees, safely reside in defenceless habitations without the city, where they would be exposed to the depredations of the Gracias.

My feelings were excited on copying the preceding remarks from Mr. Cruso's narrative. I had heard from other visitors of the desolated scenery at Vezelpore. The villa I had erected on

that beautiful spot only eight years before, was then in ruins; the dining-parlour converted to a stable, the drawing-room to a cow-house: the garden was ploughed up, and sown with grain, the trees destroyed, the lines to the Naiad defaced, and her urn broken. Such was the picture lately given me by colonel Boden, then a subaltern officer in the Baroche garrison. This villa with two others adjoining, were the evening resort of our military friends from the city, who came to pass the tranquil moonlight hour in the garden, sup under the summiniana, and enjoy the "feast of reason, and the flow of soul," with congenial minds, alive to every feeling of urbanity and friendship.

There is a beautiful passage in sacred writ, relating to the fall of Assyria; which under the imagery of a similar devastation, illustrates the destruction of the stately banian tree, and the surrounding grove in our garden, which were refreshed by the waters they overshadowed. "Behold, the Assyrian was a cedar in Lebanon, with fair branches, a shadowing shroud, and of an high stature; his top was among the thick boughs; the waters made him great, the deep set him up on high, with her rivers running round about his plants; and her little rivers flowing to all the trees of the field. Therefore his height was exalted, his boughs were multiplied, and his branches became long, because of the multitude of waters, when he shot forth. All the fowls of heaven made their nests in his boughs, and under his branches the beasts of the field found shelter: thus was he fair in his greatness, in the length of his branches; for his root was by the waters. The cedars in the garden of God could not hide him; the fir trees were not like his boughs; the chesnut trees were not like his branches; nor any tree

in the garden of God was like unto him in his beauty. He was made fair by the multitude of his branches; so that all the trees of Eden envied him! But I have delivered him into the hands of the heathen, strangers have cut him off; the terrible of the nations have left him; upon the mountains and in the valleys his branches are fallen; his boughs are broken; the people of the earth are gone from his shadow, and have left him! Take up a lamentation for his destruction; prophecy, and say, Woe worth the day! for it is a day of desolation; a cloudy day! The daughters of the nations shall lament thy doom, they shall lament the loss of thy beauty!"

The reader of sensibility will excuse this digression, and the following parody on a few lines in Goldsmith's "*Deserted Village*," occasioned by a momentary impulse, on reading the state of our garden-houses in Mr. Cruso's journal.

Sweet Vezel! loveliest village of the plain,
Where health and plenty cheer'd the labouring swain;
Where cooling showers their earliest visits paid,
And latter rains abundant harvests made.
Dear lovely bowers of innocence and ease,
Seats of my youth, when every sport could please:
How often have I wander'd o'er thy green,
Where friendly intercourse endear'd each scene:
How often have I paus'd on every charm,
The Hindoo cot, the cultivated farm,
The bold Nerbudda flowing by thy side,
The decent mosque beyond his swelling tide,
The glittering temple hid beneath the shade
Where Visnoo's priests or Seeva's votaries stray'd.
How often have I hail'd the festive hour
When distant friends arriv'd to grace the bow'r,

Where social mirth, from pride and envy free,
Beguiled the time beneath the spreading tree.
While different parties loiter'd in the shade,
The happy hosts their well-pleas'd guests survey'd,
And many a gambol frolick'd o'er the ground,
And many a cheerful song and jest went round,
And still as each repeated pleasure tir'd,
Succeeding joys the mirthful band inspired.
Such were thy charms, dear village! charms like these,
With sweet succession made the tropic please:
Made us to meet its fervours with a smile,
And less regret the joys of Albion's isle:
These round thy bowers their cheerful influence shed;
These were thy charms—but all these charms are fled!

I shall make no extracts concerning Baroche, having already fully described it during the English government, when flourishing and happy: under the Mahrattas Mr. Cruso thus writes. The present Amul or governor for Mahdajee Sindia, named Gopal Row, is a young man of mean capacity, not liked by the inhabitants. The dewan a low insignificant being, called Tattea. The mudjemoodar, named Lullabhy is a banian of considerable fortune who held that post under the nabob Mozuz Caun, previous to the English conquest, and filled it during the whole of their government; when his local knowledge and intrigue in the revenue department made him useful to the Company's collectors, and gave him great consequence in the purgunna. He has contrived to hold the same situation under the Mahratta government; but is no longer a friend to his former employers, and ungratefully acts on all occasions in opposition to the English interest. The dessoy, Dowlat Roy, succeeded to that station on his father's

death, during the English government, and was continued in it by the Mahrattas. His grandfather was put to death by Mozuz Caun at the instigation of Lullabhy's maternal grandfather; and Dowlat Row, a young man of no striking talents, is now entirely at the mercy of Lullabhy; as indeed are the heads of every department in the Baroche durbar. On leaving Baroche, where Sir Charles Malet had been treated with great respect by Sindia's government, and our guard increased by twenty-five horse and fifteen foot, to accompany us as far as Champoneer, we marched through a well-cultivated and populous plain for sixteen miles, to Tuckarea, a large village chiefly inhabited by borahs; Mahomedans of singular appearance and manners, in many respects resembling the Jews. Their houses are numerous, and well built; the musjeed is the largest in the Baroche purgunna; the outside, from its magnitude and style of architecture, promised a handsome interior; but we found nothing more than the usual places of prostration, the ornaments mean, and every thing common, except the tank where the worshippers perform their ablutions. At this village Sir Charles was met by a mehmendar, from Futty Sihng, the Guicawar chieftain at Brodera, with a letter of invitation to his capital.

We arrived at Meah Gaum, a town belonging to rajah Ranul Sihng, on the 20th of March; and were immediately visited by two of his sons, bringing a respectful message from the rajah, then on his way to meet us. He soon after arrived, attended by nine more of his sons, forming altogether a very interesting family group. We found him a sensible, well-behaved, respectable man, about sixty years of age, of great hospitality, who not only ordered

every thing necessary, but would willingly have pressed more upon us than we wanted. This benevolent rajah is of the Rajepoot caste, tributary to Futty Sihng, of whose rapacity he made bitter complaints, and was then in extreme distress, from his having placed a guard of fifty horse over his person, and ordered him immediately to repair to his durbar at Brodera, or to pay down a large sum. The aged patriarch spoke with much feeling and spirit on the occasion: "God," said he, "has blessed me with a numerous offspring, and now that I have lived to see most of them attain to man's estate, I am threatened with being deprived of the means of providing for them. My possessions are in a hazardous state. I have every thing to apprehend from the rapacity and injustice of Futty Sihng, but I will not suffer myself to be led into his presence by an armed force. If he will withdraw his troops, I may perhaps obey his other command; if not, my life on such terms as he would force a compliance, is not worth preserving."

During this conversation a very handsome youth, about sixteen years of age, entered the tent; our venerable guest immediately arose, and introduced him as the heir to his rajahship, being the child of his eldest son, who is dead. Most of the Hindoo successions run in that line. The town contains upwards of three thousand inhabitants, mostly Rajepoots and Gracias; the latter are probably the aborigines of the country, who were never so completely subdued as to give up their claim on a certain portion of the landed property, the produce of which they claim to this day. If their demand is not complied with, they are, after admonishing the defaulter, frequently guilty of the greatest cruelty, killing or maiming man and beast belonging to the village which re-

fuses. In such terror are they held, that when a party of them enters a village, their horses and themselves are amply provided with every thing necessary.

The day following we crossed the dry bed of the river Dahder, and encamped at the village of Etola, belonging to Futty Sihng, not far from its banks. It is remarkable that Etola, in the Brodera purgunna, is the first village, since the commencement of our journey, at which we have been refused the few articles of provisions and necessaries usually supplied to an oriental traveller.

The next morning we left Etola at four o'clock, by torch-light, and when the day broke found ourselves on a beautiful plain, extending many miles around us; the trees with which it was richly adorned, were arranged in such sweet assemblage as to produce the most agreeable effect. I must own I had hitherto looked in vain for the rural scenery which I had been led to expect in Guzerat: I now no longer found it a fictitious exaggeration. I cannot figure to myself a more charming country than that in the vicinity of Brodera. As you approach the city the views are enriched by a number of mausoleums, embosomed among dark groves of mango trees. After a march of eleven miles we encamped, at seven o'clock, two hundred yards north-east of Brodera, the capital of the Guicwar territory in Guzerat, and the residence of its chieftain, Futty Sihng Row Guicwar, which, by our route, is about ninety miles from Surat. In the evening Futty Sihng signified his intention of visiting Sir Charles Malet on the following afternoon, and sent a present of fruit and necessaries.

The next day, about five o'clock in the afternoon, the approach of the Brodera chieftain being announced, preparation was made

for his suitable reception. The guard, regular and irregular was paraded, and all the members of the mission, with their followers, appeared in their best attire. When he came within two hundred paces, Sir Charles went forward in his palanquin to meet him. Futty Sihng was escorted by a party of cavalry well mounted and appointed; and a guard of a hundred infantry, selected from his household troops, many of whom had been sepoys on the Bengal establishment. He was received at the door of the public tent, and from thence conducted to Sir Charles's private tent, where a chair covered with embroidered velvet was placed for him; others were ranged on each side for his ministers and ourselves. After presenting Captain Reynolds and myself, as gentlemen of his suite, Sir Charles took Futty Sihng by the hand, and led him to his seat. He brought with him one of his brothers, Monajee, who was seated on his right hand; Gulab Roy, the mehmundar who had been sent to meet us on the journey, stood at his left, as the interlocutor between him and Sir Charles. The rest of the numerous attendants of rank to entitle them to admission, sat on carpets to the right of Monajee, without any distinction of priority that I could observe; nor could any be made by a difference of dress or other circumstance; for all, except two soucars, or commercial men, were equipped in the rough manner affected by the Mahratta cavaliers, nor were their manners more refined than their appearance.

After some general conversation, and a few songs and dances, by two sets of dancing-girls usually attendant on such ceremonies, Futty Sihng expressed a desire to return; on which a number of presents that were in readiness, were brought in by the servants, and offered in the following manner:—Several attendants carried

each a silver dish, covered with an embroidered cloth. As the first approached near the Broderah chieftain the embroidered cover was removed, and discovered a muslin turban unfolded, under which were some of the articles to be presented. Sir Charles then taking one end of the turban, offered it to Futty Sihng with the usual salam. He received it with a return of the same civility and gave it to an attendant. The contents of the dish were then separately displayed to him, and delivered to his servants: each cover was presented in succession, with a repetition of the same ceremonies. An Arab horse, a present from Sir Charles, was then led to the tent door, and given in charge to one of his grooms; suitable presents were also made to his brothers and principal attendants. Futty Sihng having expressed great satisfaction at his reception, then returned to his durbar, attended part of the way by Sir Charles.

This Guykwar chief of the Mahratta empire is a dark man, of the middle stature, with an intelligent countenance, but his conversation and manners are far from elegant; the behaviour of his attendants still more rude, and his domestics seemed perfect strangers to order. His dress was of fine muslin, neat and plain; the nimma, or robe, closed at the neck by a diamond pin. His right arm was ornamented with a row of diamonds, and on the little finger of his left hand was a ring with a middle-sized diamond. The handle of his dagger was mother of pearl, inlaid with gold.

Monajee is a much better looking man than his brother; his person tall and commanding, with good eyes, an open countenance, and regular features. His dress was also of plain muslin, the nimma fastened by a large emerald in form of a lozenge; with a necklace of pearls and emeralds alternately disposed.

These brothers had both a nerveless debilitated appearance, produced probably by an immoderate use of opium and early debauchery.

At Futty Sihng's visit it was settled that a proper person should wait on Sir Charles at ten A. M. of the ensuing day, to conduct him to the durbar in the city. We accordingly waited until the afternoon in hopes of learning the appointed hour; when a chopdar arrived from the durbar with a message, that the chieftain having assembled his astrologers, it had been determined the day was unlucky, and for that reason we could not be received until a more auspicious season. Sir Charles returned for answer, that the visits of friends made all days lucky; and as he was under the necessity of proceeding on his journey, and had already sent off part of his equipage, he wished to pay his respects at the durbar the same evening.

The messenger presently returned, with a request to see us as soon as convenient, as every thing was prepared for our reception, and a number of massaulchees ordered to light us from the tents to the durbar, whither we repaired about eight o'clock; but from the immense crowd of spectators, and narrowness of the streets, we did not arrive there until nine. From our imperfect view of the city, it made a shabby appearance, ill suited to its magnitude and the reputed wealth of its owner. It seems very populous, and contains a good market-place, arched and roofed. The new durbar is a lofty structure, but of mean appearance; the audience-chamber, where Futty Sihng received us, is divided by pillars into three parts, for the accommodation of the company at public diversions and nautches, who being arranged on either side, see the

spectacle in the central division without interruption. On entering this apartment we found three chairs placed for us, and another covered with crimson velvet for Futty Sihng, who soon entered, and after the usual compliments we were seated; the embrace is only customary at a first meeting. We were afterwards informed that Futty Sihng's reason for not being present in the durbar to receive us, arose from a finesse of foolish pride, that he might avoid the condescension of rising. The master of the ceremonies, and all the company introduced upon this occasion, were of rude and clownish appearance, with only two exceptions: one, a manly handsome Patan, who commanded the regular troops; the other a Mahomedan officer of a similar description. Two sets of dancing-girls were provided for our entertainment: but though Brodera, or *Waroda*, as frequently called by the natives, is one of the most famous cities in India for these tolerated courtezans, and from Futty Sihng's general character, his acquaintance with them is not very limited, none were of even passable beauty. They however danced well, and one of them sang with more harmony and variety than usual. Our visit was protracted until near midnight, by a long private conference, which Futty Sihng had requested Sir Charles to have with himself and his principal minister in a separate apartment. The public visit was closed, as customary, with a return of presents.

Early the next morning we proceeded to Jarode, the last stage in the Brodera purgunna, where the Guicwar dominion terminates, and Mhadajee Sindia's commences. Near Brodera the road is good, and the country of that pleasing description already mentioned; all the rest presented a dreary aspect, without an acre in

cultivation. In this march of twelve miles, we crossed the dry bed of a small river, called the Suree. Jarode is the place where Sindia's army was encamped on General Goddard's campaign; the English army occupied the ground near Camlah, from whence they followed the Mahratta chief, in hopes of bringing him to an action, for which he shewed no inclination. In front of Jarode is an excellent tank, at this advanced season abounding with water.

On the 26th we marched eleven miles to Halool, the first part uncultivated and dreary, but about half way the dawn of morning presented a beautiful landscape; to the finest fields and richest woods was added a charming variety of forest scenery, with an excellent road winding through it. The morning air, perfumed by numberless flowering shrubs, and a serenade from bulbuls and other warblers, rendered the sylvan scene complete, until we reached Halool, a large village belonging to Sindia, five miles from Powa-ghurr. Our encampment commanded a grand view of that stupendous rock; for a rock it certainly is, from the foot to the summit; which, as also the ascent to it, is strongly fortified at convenient places; but what generally appears at a distance to be an artificial fortification, below the upper part, is all a natural defence, consisting of scarped rock to a most formidable depth. On the summit of the mountain is a Hindoo temple of some celebrity; also the mausoleum of Peer Sujjun Sermust, a Mahomedan saint. A part of these religious edifices is said to be used as storehouses. This fortress, which makes such a conspicuous appearance from the plains of Guzerat, is commanded by Chillajee Cuddum, who has been killedar at this important station the last five years.

The city of Champoneer, formerly the capital of the whole Guze-

rat district, is situated at the foot of the mountain on the opposite side. We wished very much to have seen it, but as we must have deviated considerably from our route to gratify curiosity, it was given up. There is a large tank near the village of Hullole, adjoining a grand mausoleum, said to have been built by Secunder Padshaw; consisting of two magnificent structures covered with domes, and five smaller, of the same construction, all of admirable workmanship. Under each of the large domes is a marble tomb, without an inscription. The work on these tombs is exquisite.

On the 27th we proceeded on our journey, having been furnished from Champoneer with an additional guard of ten footmen. We wished for an escort of cavalry from the killedar, but most of his troops being employed in collecting the revenues, and protecting the villages against the Bheels, a troublesome banditti, it was not in his power. We were told when we left Jarode, we should enter a country so full of woods and thickets, as to be scarcely passable; and so infested with robbers that our baggage would be constantly in danger of being pillaged: in this respect we have been agreeably disappointed; the road having been generally good, the country pleasant, and not a robber to be seen. This morning we crossed the bed of a river about a mile before we reached Malow; the stream was now small, and the scene abounded with wild-fowl of various kinds.

In the vicinity of Malow are large masses of rocks, which seen through the trees resemble a considerable village. On a nearer approach we found them to consist of a multiplicity of separate rocks, in a variety of shapes, forming a very singular and romantic disposition. We had not previously seen a single stone, and the

rocky hills we afterwards came to, may be said to commence at this spot. On the top of the largest rock is a Hindoo temple, surmounting the trees by which the masses are surrounded. These are of various kinds; one bearing a fruit in size and outward appearance like the orange, with a thick cortex, similar to the *cowit*, or wood-apple of Guzerat; it is called the *belah;* the seeds resemble those of the pomegranate, are exceedingly gummy, and are used medicinally in fluxes. Like the mango, when green they are preserved in salt and water, and eaten as pickles.

Such is the state of warfare between the inhabitants of the different villages in this country, that every boy of fourteen is armed, and if you send for butter and eggs, the peasant brings them with a drawn scimetar. All the villagers we met had either a sword, or bows and arrows, sometimes both.

After a journey of thirteen miles through a wild country, we encamped on the 28th at Seemlee, on the river Gomah, the first village of the territory of the Barreah rajah, who having been previously in correspondence with Sir Charles, had sent one of his officers with an escort of five and twenty foot and fourteen horse, to conduct us to his capital; in consequence of which the Baroche jemadar was sent back with his party. We met many carts laden with grain, and overtook others proceeding to the interior with cocoa-nuts from Jamboseer and the sea-coasts of Guzerat.

The next morning, at three o'clock, we proceeded through a thick forest until we came to a village called Gorlah, surrounded by cultivation. In those wilds we passed a large well, or bowree, built by Damajee, the father of Futty Sihng, on a spot where, flying with only fifteen horsemen, after the dreadful battle of Panniput,

he had nearly perished from thirst. We then crossed the bed of the Pannah river, a broad stream which runs into the Myhi, as do most of the rivers in this part of the country. After a march of twelve miles we arrived at Barreah; the rajah fired the best salute in his power to congratulate us, having sent his duan, at the head of a body of cavalry, to meet and conduct us honourably into his capital.

On our left, through the jungle, we passed the chain of hills running off from the high mountain of Powaghur, seen from Dhuboy at a great distance. They do not seem a regular range, being often interrupted, and sometimes separate, and have in general a woody and wild aspect, on a basis of rock. In many parts were large flakes of a white shining stone, which at a little distance appeared like cotton strewed through the valley, running through two ranges of similar rocky hills.

Barreah stands in this valley on the river Panna, in a narrow spot, just sufficiently large to contain the town between the foot of the hills. It is very neat, and contains many good houses, built of brick, and tiled. The inhabitants appeared decent and orderly; the shop-keepers well dressed, and the troops had a clean soldier-like appearance.

The rajah having previously announced his intention, paid us a visit at six in the evening. He was mounted on an elephant, well caparisoned, and brought with him a party of select friends. He seemed about thirty-five years of age, of a dignified mien, prepossessing manners, and dressed with taste. Round his neck hung several rows of pearls, from whence depended emeralds, diamonds, and rubies, set in the shape of hearts, one above another, in the

centre of strings of pearl. The rajah's name is Jeswant Sihng, of the Rajepoot tribe; his family possessed Powa-ghurr when it was last subdued; five hundred of their adherents were killed on the spot; one only of his family survived, from whom this prince is lineally descended. Mhadajee Sindia on his last campaign in Guzerat, in passing and repassing through the rajah's country, was so pleased with his attentions that he made him many grateful returns, and presented him with the elephant on which he visited our tents.

The next morning we returned the rajah's visit. In passing through the town the people pressed in front of their houses with great anxiety to behold the first Europeans they had probably ever seen. The durbar is large, but rude; it was well attended, and a dancing-girl commenced her song immediately on our being seated. The rajah now examined our dress, and every article about us; and was good-naturedly inquisitive, especially regarding our watches, whose operation we explained to him. A small compass affixed to one of them was matter of great surprise; but still more so a telescope, carried by one of our servants. The room in which the rajah received us growing too hot from the concourse of people continually pressing into it, he led us into another apartment more airy and spacious. Here from a window which commanded an extensive view, he diverted himself a long time with the spying-glass, calling in two or three of his favourites to share his pleasure, telling them that the people walking at a distance could not even wink their eye but he saw them. On our rising to take leave, he told us with a smile, that we were now in the midst of a wild country, prisoners at his pleasure We passed

more than two hours with him, and then returned to the tents, where the good-natured prince paid us another visit in the evening.

Barreah, situated in a narrow defile, is a much frequented pass or thoroughfare, between Guzerat and Malwa; the tolls taken at the town-gates generally exceed twenty thousand rupees per annum. We left it on the 31st of March, and soon re-entered a wild rocky country, similar to that already described. Sleeping at a wretched place called Cummareah, a mile from any water, at an early hour the next morning we renewed our journey through the same wilds, which had now continued for fifty miles. Here we came to a deep pass, cut through the hills, which descended into a stony plain. We had been told many frightful stories of the cruelty and depredations of the Bheels, the wild inhabitants of the jungles and forests through which we had lately passed; but by due precaution we escaped. Before day-break this morning, after having passed the last fortified hill which forms the limits of Jeswant Sihng's territory, and in a forest near a fortress where Sindia's dominions commence, a most infernal yell suddenly issued from the deep ravines. Our guides informed us this was the noise always made by the Bheels previous to an attack, with the view of throwing travellers into a fright and confusion most favourable to their designs. We immediately set off at full gallop to the brink of the nearest gully whence the war-whoop seemed to issue, where our alertness and the lighted matches of the horsemen's pieces disconcerting them, they made off as fast as possible. This place we afterwards found to be famous for these banditti; here they establish a sort of rendezvous, and lie in wait among thickets and

hollow ways, from whence they spring on travellers, in places where no horse can follow them, nor even foot, being strangers to the ground. This dangerous spot is also a neutral situation between two independent powers, neither of whom deem themselves responsible for the robberies and murders committed by these marauders. Sir Charles used great precaution in marching through this country, moving himself with the cavalry of his guard, and attaching the regular infantry to the baggage.

Soon after descending the pass we arrived at Dohud, a town situated within another circle of hills, where the province of Guzerat ends, and Malwa commences. Dohud is by far the best town we have seen since leaving Broderah; surrounded by a high wall of no great strength, with two gates and a gurry, or citadel, forming an oblong square. The houses are built of brick, and the inhabitants respectable, especially a number of Mussulmauns of the Borah tribe, who, like the Parsees, are seldom found in considerable numbers, but where there is something like an advantageous trade.

The following day we travelled twelve miles to Taundah, a very fine village. The country though hilly was open, and well cultivated. We were there warned of an intended attack by the Bheels in our next morning's route. Before midnight a jemadar and four armed horsemen arrived from the rajah of Jaboo, a petty prince in the neighbourhood, who hearing of Jeswant Sihng's civilities at Barreah, was willing to follow his example, and sent his people as an additional escort on the next stage. We accordingly proceeded together at the usual hour, and before day-break passed this perilous spot without molestation; no place could be

better adapted for banditti, being covered by thick forests, intersected by deep ravines, and encompassed by hills.

Having escaped all difficulties we arrived at our tents, pitched near the village of Tandlah, in a pleasant country, with plenty of cattle grazing in the meadows, and peasants reaping an abundant crop of barley. It belonged to Bihm Sihng, rajah of Jaboo, of the Rhatore tribe of Rajpoots, who paid us a visit in the evening, with a number of attendants, in a better style than we had expected; among them were several respectable Patan, Scindian, and Arab officers. The rajah was a heavy corpulent young man, about five-and-twenty years of age, well dressed, and covered with ornaments, particularly several gold chains round his neck and across his shoulders, with a profusion of rings and bracelets. During the evening I had numerous applications for advice and medicines, which, for the credit of the embassy, I distributed liberally to all who required assistance.

We proceeded early on the 4th of April to Pitlabad, a stage of fourteen miles; the first part through a hilly country, but neither so high nor rocky as those we had lately passed. The soil in the valleys resembled finely sifted black earth, generally covered by long dried grass, thinly scattered, with trees resembling the birch. We then ascended two lofty hills, in immediate succession, and, from an extensive plain on the summit, commanded a fine view of the country we had lately traversed, a tract of fifty miles in length, and fifteen in breadth; generally lost to all the purposes of cultivation; a cover for wild beasts, and the abode of cruel banditti. A succession of hill and dale brought us from thence to Pitlabad, once the mart of Malwa, and one of the most

considerable places in that province, now greatly impoverished and reduced.

On the 5th we continued our morning march, and passing Jamlah and another village, reached the banks of the Myhi, having travelled about fifteen miles from Pitlabad, through a pleasant cultivated country, producing wheat, barley, and abundance of poppies for extracting opium, but a magnificent wildness characterized the approach to this celebrated river. The bed is about a hundred yards broad, but the stream, so late in the season, every where small, and in some places discontinued. We crossed at one of the principal passes from Oojen, (or Ujen) to Guzerat. The defiles and gullies on each side are very deep, and the road indifferent. The banks on each side the river are generally of equal height, but opposite the pass is an eminence, well calculated for a post to obstruct an enemy's passage from Guzerat to Malwa. The ravines and inaccessible retreats near the banks of the Myhi, render its borderers notorious for their depredations. We passed them with great circumspection. Indeed at the outset of the mission a regular plan of encampment, and a very strict and vigilant police had been established.

On leaving the Myhi we proceeded to Rajoud, a large zemindarree village, belonging to a Rajpoot, named Keysree Sihng, on the little river Coté-Ser, where we encamped after a march of twenty miles. This place is about ten coss from the source of the Myhi, and three from that of the Coté-Ser. The former is at a place called Chimpapoora near Umjeree, the latter near two villages named Coa and Budnar. A Hindoo temple is built over the spring of the Myhi, near which it falls in a beautiful cascade into

a natural bason of rock. After seeing the number of large rivers and small rivulets which disembogue into the Myhi, it is no longer wonderful that its impetuous torrent, in the rainy season, should carry down such a quantity of timber, cattle, wrecks of villages, and sometimes their inhabitants, from the inundated plains.

The general produce of the country hitherto appears to have been juarree, wheat, barley, chena, hemp, and sugar-cane; but none in great abundance, nor indicative of a large population.

I pass over a number of disputes and quarrels detailed in the journal, between Holcar, Bhim Sihng, and other petty sovereigns in those districts. These, and various historical anecdotes were related by the Charruns, a caste of people very much resembling the Bhauts at Neriad, Zinore, and other parts of Guzerat. The Churruns were formerly said to live only in that province, but about thirty years before several of the tribe, during the distress of a grievous famine, fled for subsistence to Malwa, and settled under the protection of different powers. They formed considerable villages in the territory of Jaboo, Jeswant Sihng, and the rajah of Umjeree. A village belonging to these Churruns, on the banks of the Myhi, had been lately plundered by a petty rajah, on the pretence of their having assisted the Gracias in their depredations for some unjust demand. A party of the injured Churruns were now at the village where we encamped, on their way to Dhar, to solicit reparation; which if they do not obtain, several of them, according to the custom of their caste, are determined to commit suicide in the city, and shed their blood at the doors of the people who refuse to redress their injuries. The guilt of the blood of this tribe is deemed an inexpiable crime, and a very severe curse.

From Dhar, the surviving Churruns purpose repairing to the peshwa at Poonah; and if unsuccessful there also, will renew the self-devotion, and complete the sacrifice of despair!

This night a robbery was committed in our encampment, the first of the kind which has happened on the journey. Mr. Cruso was the principal sufferer, having lost not only his palanquin bedding and several other articles, but a case of capital surgical instruments; he was fortunately provided with another set; otherwise in such a country the loss would have been irretrievable.

Nothing interesting occurred for some days; on the 8th of April the party arrived at Boodnaour, through an open flat country; having entirely passed the hills and rugged unevenness which had characterised the landscape during the last fortnight. The next day they encamped at Noulai, a large flourishing town belonging to Mhadajee Sindia, with a mud wall and a ghurry; it is the capital of a very considerable purgunna, containing an hundred and seventy-five villages: the part through which they travelled was well cultivated, yielding good crops of most Indian grains, wheat, barley, and cotton. Near the town runs the little river Chumla; which, contrary to all the streams yet passed, takes a north-easterly direction. Sir Charles Malet imputes this to their having entirely left the range of hills and high lands from whence those rivers took their rise, and which now formed a barrier to the flux of water south-westward. As the rivers crossed in the former part of the journey generally fall into the Mihi, so those in their future progress must be considered as subsidiaries of the Jumna and the Ganges, a prominent feature in the geography of Hindostan.

The next halt was at Bulleyree, a village in a well-cultivated

and plentiful country. Passing the Chumla close to Noulai, about eight miles further, they came to the Chumbal, a fine running stream, which rising near Indore, about twenty-five miles distant, takes a north-easterly direction, and falls into the Jumna near Dholepore. In addition to the abundant crops of wheat, barley, juarree and other Indian grains, were large fields of cotton and poppies, for opium. The mode of extracting and gathering this drug from the poppy, of which there are three kinds, is very simple. The peasants go every evening into the fields, and with a sharp instrument make three or four incisions into the rind of the poppy-head of seed; the juice, during the night, oozes plentifully from these incisions; and is tenacious, until they come the next morning with another instrument to scrape it off, and collect it for sale. This country also produces the sarunjee, or aul tree. From the root of this tree when young the natives extract a red dye.

The large village of Bulleyree is amply supplied with water, from several brooks flowing at this arid season. The whole country during the latter stages was remarkably well watered; indeed the province of Malwa is in this respect proverbially happy, and is said never to have known the distress of famine; it is, on the contrary, generally considered as an asylum and store-house for other countries, suffering under that calamity. Large parties of emigrants from Marwar, and Cottyawar, which had for two years experienced a great drought, were now spread over this happier country.

The villages in this part of the Malwa province are built entirely of mud; the flat roofs, walls, and floors, all of the same

materials; each house is encircled by a mud wall, over which its shabby top is just visible; this appeared the more remarkable in populous villages, so near the capital. On questioning the inhabitants if these mud roofs did not render the houses very hot, they invariably answered no; adding that they were also proof against the heaviest rain which fell in that province.

On the 10th of April, after travelling thirteen miles and a half from Bulleyree, and crossing the fine river Gumeer about half way, they arrived at Oojen, the capital of Mhadajee Sindia's part of Malwa. The road was excellent; the first six miles through a forest of baubul trees, the latter over a rich fertile plain, abounding with remarkably tame deer.

On approaching the city Sir Charles Malet was met by a deputation from the governors, (for there were then two,) who conducted him to the encampment on the banks of the river Sepra, which runs by the western walls of the city.

END OF VOL. III.

T. Bensley, Printer,
Bolt Court, Fleet Street, London.